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MONTAUK AND THE COMMON LANDS OF EASTHAMPTON

IF not in the earliest, still in very early times, the system of village communities was that which prevailed among all the branches of the Aryan race. The essential characteristics of the village community, as an agricultural system, were common ownership of the soil and common cultivation. Many varieties occur, some of which seem to have been successive, or at least from their nature may easily have been. Thus among the Hindus, who have more exactly preserved the customs of the common Aryan ancestors, is found what seems the most primitive form of the institution. Here the community is a household consisting of persons actually of common descent, who own and cultivate their land in common and live together as one family, subsisting upon the jointly owned products. Among the much-enduring Servians and Bosnians the family community (there may be several such communities in a village) owns and cultivates the land without partition, while the produce is commonly divided among the related families composing the community. Still another form is that found among the Russians. Here the land is owned by the village as a whole, but each family cultivates and enjoys a separate portion of it, the whole being redivided equally, and redistributed, after a certain term of years. In such a system, it is easy to conceive of the periodical partitions as gradually becoming more infrequent and finally ceasing. This would soon result in private property in land.

It is not possible to say that the transition from patriarchal community of goods to individual ownership of land has been made through stages such as these; but an examination of such phases makes it at least easier to see

¹ Acknowledgments are due to G. L. Rives, Esq., of New York, by whom legal documents in Montauk cases were lent; to Mr. F. S. Benson, of Brooklyn, son of the present proprietor, and to Mr. Stratton, the keeper, by whose kindness access was obtained to the admirably arranged deeds and other muniments at Montauk; to Mr. Jos. S. Osborn, town-clerk of Easthampton; to the local histories, though these contain almost nothing that is not to be found in the records; and especially to Mr. David H. Huntting, whose antiquarian knowledge of Montauk and Easthampton is equalled only by the kindness with which he assists the researches of another.

how the transition could have been made, during the long history of Aryan nations.

In order to understand common lands in New England (for the east end of Long Island is, for some purposes of institutional history, a part of New England), attention may be confined to the land-community as it has existed, first, in Germany; second, in Old England.

The first steps in this investigation in Germany were taken by a Danish surveyor, Olufsen, who in the practice of his profession in Schleswig-Holstein, noticed in many villages that the possessions of an individual farmer consisted of a large number of long and narrow strips, scattered about in different fields. Carefully observing these and other agrarian peculiarities, and connecting them with certain passages of the old Danish codes, he in part reconstructed the "mark-system." His results were published in 1821, and thus the first district whose farms were compelled to yield the secret of the organization of their original occupants was just that from which the English went forth. Almost the next to continue these investigations was Georg Hanssen, whose labors in this field reach over a period of fifty years, and who is still living and working as professor at Göttingen. Younger men, Meitzen, of Berlin; Von Miaskowski, of Breslau; Bücher, of Munich, and Nasse, of Bonn, have advanced, and are still advancing, our knowledge of the subject by special researches; while Von Maurer, Waitz, Roscher, Von Inama-Sternegg, and others have examined it as a portion of the more general fields to which their own labors are given. The method may be described as consisting in careful examination and combination of the testimony of old manorial records with that of the present divisions of the soil, together with such notices as the chronicles afford.

The main features of the ancient Germanic village community, as thus reconstructed, may be represented somewhat as follows: Imagine a collection of houses, each with its yard or garden adjoining, while the whole village is surrounded by a hedge or wall of nearly square form. If in a level country, the houses may be ranged in order along a broad central street, or perhaps two streets at right angles, closed at the ends by gates in the hedge; if in an uneven spot, the houses may be scattered about arbitrarily, with a crooked lane leading to each separately, with no common road, but with perhaps a brook running through the settlement. Without the hedge lies the land of the community; fields, meadows, pastures, woods, and wild lands owned and enjoyed by all in common. But here each field, though devoted to one sort of produce, and each piece of meadow-land, is divided into a number of strips equal to the number of households in the village; these strips are reallocated periodically. Thus the hide or entire possession

of an individual householder consists of his house, yard, and farm-buildings, of an actual but annually-changing share in each arable field, and from spring till hay-harvest in each meadow, and of an ideal share in the pastures, forests, and other wild lands; cattle being pastured on the meadows also when the hay-crop is not being raised, and on the stubbles of the arable.

This may be taken as a fair representation of the usual form of the German mark in the times just before certain of the northern Germans migrated to Britain. It will perhaps be noticed that nothing is here said of that threefold rotation of autumn-grain, winter-grain, and fallow, which is known as the three-field system. It may be regarded as now settled that the original plan of cultivation was neither the three-field system, nor any system of fields alternating one with another in the production of the various crops, but rather the system which the Germans, with their unrivalled skill in piling word on word to produce one magnificent compound, call *Feldgraswirthschaftssystem*, or the system of convertible husbandry, as we may call it. Under this system, crops having been raised one year on a small portion of the mark, it then becomes again a part of the common pasture-land, of which each year a new portion is thus broken up and employed as arable. The three-field system, though now perhaps the most common, is a later and more complicated system than this. Professor Hanssen has found no mention of it earlier than 771.¹

The common-field or open-field system in England has received far less attention, and much less that is certainly true can be said of it. We must be content with a mere outline of its history, at least until the history of it, upon which Mr. Seebohm is said to be engaged, has appeared. In what we may venture, *pace* Mr. Freeman, to call the Anglo-Saxon period, it is clear that, as a rule, only the houseyards, and, occasionally, outlying pieces close by, used as calf-pastures, etc., were permanently enclosed. Here, as in Germany, the arable fields of individuals lay intermixed, and the hide consisted of various scattered parcels. By the time when the charters and other documents begin to occur, the arable land has become a permanently fixed portion of the common domain, the three-field system is in some cases already established, and the lots in the different fields are probably no longer subject to re-distribution. Common meadows occur frequently; in some the lots are annually distributed for the hay harvest, in others they are already permanent; but all are subject to common use during the rest of the year. Pastures and forest common to a whole village are almost universal.

¹ *Zeit. für die ges. Staatsw.*, 1881: 2, p. 397 (Meitzen).

In the centuries succeeding the Norman Conquest, the rural population of England was divided into three principal classes, the highest being the freeholders and tenants in socage, the lowest the cottagers. Between these two, and comprising by far the greater part of the Englishmen of the rural districts, was the class of *villani*, customary tenants, copyholders. It has been shown by Professor Nasse, of Bonn, and by the clearer papers of Professor W. F. Allen, that it is not, as has been supposed, among the freeholders, but among these customary tenants, holding their lands in the manors by customary services, that we must look for the successors, the historical descendants of the old villagers of the Anglo-Saxon land-communities. The amounts of land held by individuals among them are, in any one manor, nearly equal, as this view would require. In Domesday they are known as *villani*, villagers; by the end of the thirteenth century, the same classes, known as *consuetudinarii*, have become degraded to the level of serfdom, with many burdensome additions to the roll of their customary services. Thus, in the quiet rural villages of England, one generation of customary tenants or villeins succeeded another, and "Ricardus fecit sicut praedictus Robertus." Apart from the political strifes of the age, the serfs toiled on in humble obscurity, now for the lord of the manor, now for themselves. They ploughed and harrowed their now-divided fields together, and together threw down their fences on Lammass Day, and allowed their cattle to pasture in common on the stubble. They held their meadows in severalty "from the feast of the purification of St. Mary unto the feast of St. John the Baptist," and then, the hay-crop gathered, made common pasture of them from Midsummer Day till Candlemas again. The common-pasturage system is, as will be seen, of most importance to us. Sometimes the pasture-ground was the property of the community, but oftener it was owned by the lord of the manor. The pasture-rights of the villagers in the latter case were, in the main, of two sorts, rights of "common appendant," appendant, that is, to the individual's arable, and proportionate to its extent, and "common appurtenant," not so attached nor so limited, but granted without reference to the possession of arable land.

In such communities lived the men to whom John Ball preached, and among whom gloomy Will Longland found his Piers Ploughman, the men who followed Cade to London Stone, those who joined Darcy and Aske in the Pilgrimage of Grace, or, a dozen years later, assembled at the "Oak of Reformation" in Norfolk, the sturdy yeomen who "kept touch" with Wyatt, or, in a more united England, gathered around the "man-minded" Elizabeth at Tilbury. In fact, the vast majority of the English ancestors of those who settled the new England and of us their descendants had for

centuries been dwelling in such land-communities and had been carrying on their husbandry in accordance with this common-land system. Of course, in these long centuries many changes had occurred, especially since the Black Death and the Statute of Laborers. Money-rents had been substituted for agricultural services, and wages were paid from the rents. Leases became more frequent. The villein, now called copyholder, rose in the social scale. Greatest of all were the changes produced by the great inclosures of common lands, their absorption by the large landholders, which caused such constant and widespread agrarian discontent throughout the Tudor reigns. But important as these are to the agrarian history of England, we are concerned rather with the fact that the common-land system in England was for ages preserved and was by no means extinct in the seventeenth century, nor indeed in the nineteenth, than with the causes which were gradually but constantly narrowing the area in which it prevailed.

An Indian poetess has compared the migration and settlement of a certain tribe to the pouring out, upon a stone slab, of warm cane-juice, which, as it cools, crystallizes into shining grains. The comparison may be applied, not inaptly, to the settlement of the English in New England in the seventeenth century. A mass of population spreads itself out upon the surface of the new land in no regular order, but as it settles it crystallizes naturally into little bodies, whose structure is the same as that of the political crystals in which it was existing before it poured westward. The early local institutions of New England were thoroughly English. The common-land system, in particular, was brought over from old England to most of the New England towns; but nowhere has it played a more important part than in Easthampton, Long Island.

Easthampton is a quaint old town, such as one would expect to find carefully observing all ancient customs. The one long street, shaded by beautiful elms, divides at the southern end into two roadways, between which lie the old burial-ground and a long and narrow bit of water, called the Town Pond, beyond which the road passes on to the beach, a mile away. At either end of the street is an ancient windmill, and along both sides, behind the rows of elms, stand old gambrel-roofed houses with their gables to the street, turning their shoulders contemptuously toward the smart modern "residences" that here and there occur. The old home-lots, of about fourteen acres, are much as they were two hundred years ago, and sometimes have remained in the hands of the same family. Altogether, one feels strangely near to the seventeenth century, and half expects to find the men on Sunday marching to meeting (still held at the old hour) with their muskets, or to see the staid Queen Dowager of the Montauk Indians, who

cooks his dinners at the tavern, turned into a Sachem Squa before his eyes. There is something peculiar, too, in the arrangement of the farms, which lie scattered about in parcels over the large territory of the town, while the farm-houses lie together in the village or in Wainscott and Amagansett, outlying villages upon the mark. Far to the east lies Montauk.

Easthampton, at first called Maidstone, was probably settled in 1650, by men coming mostly from Massachusetts but born in England. The territory of Easthampton proper (that is, exclusive of Montauk and Gardiner's Island), comprising about thirty-one thousand acres, was bought of the Indians by Governors Eaton and Hopkins of New Haven and Connecticut in behalf of the settlers. Pogatacut, Sachem of Munhansett; Wayandanch, Sachem of Meuntacut; Momowetow, Sachem of Corchake; Nowedonah, Sachem of Shinecocke, and their "asotyats" "sould unto the foresaid Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, with their asotyats, all the Land lyinge from the bounds of the Inhabitants of Southampton, unto the East side of Napeak, next unto Meuntacut high Land, with the whole breadth from Sea to Sea."¹ The consideration consisted of twenty coats, twenty-four looking-glasses, twenty-four hoes, twenty-four hatchets, twenty-four knives, and one hundred mugs, all which, in the assignment by Hopkins to the settlers, was valued at £30 4s. 8d.

This assignment was made April 16, 1651, but already the settlement had been begun. At first only home-lots, averaging at the start about eight or ten acres, were allotted by the community to individual settlers. At the very beginning we see that strict control of the community over its own membership which is so striking a feature of early New England society, though not original to it. One of the very earliest entries in the records reads: "Easthampton 1650. It is ordered that whosoever shall take up a lot in Towne shal live upon it himselfe and also that no man shal sell his alotment or any part therof unless it be to such as the Towne shall approve of and give consent to the sale therof."² Another order curiously indicating the same is, that "goodman Meggs lott shal not be laid out for James Still to goe to worke on, and that hee shall not stay here."³ What the failings of the undesirable James were is not stated. On the other hand, "It is Ordered y^t there shall bee an invitation sent to Goodman Morgan of Southold, if hee will come and live here and weave all the towneworke, hee shall come in free from all former charges and the Town will give him 5 and breake him up 2 ackres of Land."⁴ Further allotments were rapidly made in

¹ Hedges, p. 72. I have not seen the original.

² Easthampton (MS.) Records, Book 2, p. 9.

³ Ibid., Book 2, p. 21.

⁴ Ibid., Book 2, p. 31.

various parts of the town. Before allotment, the lands were used for common pasturage by the owners; that is, those who had shared in the original purchase of the town, or whom the town had accepted in place of these. For such alone were owners in the common lands. In these earlier years, in the records of 1653, for instance, we see the herds of the town driven out morning after morning by their owners in turn, each warning his neighbor for the next day. Of common arable land there is no trace, but the records of the first year contain evidences that there were open fields, owned in severalty, but cultivated in common after the ancient English custom. The passages indicating so remarkable a survival (which had its parallel at Salem and perhaps elsewhere in Massachusetts) are perhaps worth quoting. They are two orders, one, "y^t every man shall fence y^t land y^t hee doth enioy y^t is to be understod for the quantitie of his land on the plaine;"¹ the other, "that every man shall make his fence sufficient for to secure his corne, but if any cattell come into the corne & doe harme yⁿ those that owne the fence shall pay the dammage."² These indicate large open fields, in which each owner has a certain share and must make a proportionate part of the fence surrounding all.

Before describing the successive allotments by which the vast common domain of the town was reduced to its present small proportions, a few words in regard to the topography of at least the cleared portions are necessary. The village street ran northeast and southwest. To the southwest, between a large pond and the sea, lay the "little plain;" farther east than this, but still hardly south from the town, the "great plain." To the southeast of the street, between it and the sea, was a still larger tract called the "eastern plain." Northwest of the settlement the forest extended for several miles; beyond it were the "northwest meadows," lying along a creek that opened into Gardiner's Bay. To the northeast, not so distant, were the Accabonack meadows, lying near another bay of the Sound.

Already, in the earlier months of this same first year (1651, N. S.), allotments had been made in the eastern plain and to some extent in the great plain. Of these there is, it is believed, no record; but from May, 1651, the records are abundant. In that month the General Court, or town-meeting, orders that to each man's home-lot an addition, proportionate to his plain land, but averaging about four acres, be made, adjoining the home-lot, if possible, and forming thus a sort of secondary enclosure, like those we have mentioned as found among the Anglo-Saxons. Then follow from time to time orders for the laying out of further allotments, on the eastern plain, on the great plain, on the little plain, in the meadows near the town,

¹ Easthampton Records, Book 2, p. 11.

² Ibid., Book 2, p. 1.

in the Napeague meadows toward Montauk, and finally in the Northwest and Accabonack meadows. Not all the proprietors received lots in the little plain and the great plain; they seemed to have been so proportioned and distributed as, with the lands already granted, to make each proprietor's possessions proportionate to the amount he had contributed to the purchase-money. But when we come to the meadow allotments of 1652 and 1653, a regular system appears. Each of these meadows was divided into thirty-four lots, of varying size (but those in the Northwest meadow each just twice as large as those in the Accabonack meadow), and one lot in each of the meadows was assigned to each of the thirty-four home- and plain-lots into which the occupied area of the town was now divided. To a certain lot in the village now belonged a certain portion in each of the various tracts of arable and meadow which were scattered over the surface of the town. Thus, under date of July 7, 1652, "It is allsoe ordered that those 2 lots that are not it [yet ?] taken upp namly the house lot by the meetinge house for the one & the other house lott betwene Goodman Daiton's & Goodman Price that thease 2 lotts shall have 45 ackres reserved upon the plaine for them & to have meadow acording to their p'portion laid out for them."¹ In a list of the thirty-four allotments in one meadow, those not yet occupied are marked thus: "1. for 13 ackres of upland. . . . 5. for 15 ackres,"² etc.

Book B of the town records contains the records of allotments to individuals, their exchanges, sales, etc. It will make the foregoing description of the method of distribution more clear if we give, as an example, the list of the lands possessed by Thomas Chatfield.³ They are: 1. A home-lot and addition, eleven and a half acres. 2. In the little plain, three acres. 3. In the great plain, six acres. 4. In the eastern plain, nine acres. 5. Meadow at Accabonack, five acres. 6. In the same place, two acres more. 7. In the Northwest meadows, four acres and thirty-two poles. 8. Woodland, east of the town, ten and a half acres. 9. A second home-lot, six acres. 10. More meadow in the swamp adjoining No. 1. What is this, if we add the share in the common pastures, but the old Germanic hide, with common tillage abandoned? Surely one might infer a previous common-land system from thirty such lists, as safely as Olufsen did from the land-lots of the villages of Schleswig. Exchanges, purchases, and sales, which in these lists we see already beginning, have so altered these possessions in two hundred years that no villager now owns just what his ancestor did, but even now most of the farms consist of strangely scattered parcels. Each of these divisions and allotments was made by two or three of the towns-

¹ Easthampton Records, Book 2, p. 25.

² Ibid., Book 2, p. 24.

³ Ibid., Book B, pp. 2, 3.

men, appointed by the General Court, which also remedied any injustice resulting from the lot. After these first years no large allotments were made till 1700. During this period the "proprietors" were a distinct body from the rest of the inhabitants, as in many New England towns. Their rights to commonage were based on the home allotment, original or since acquired, and stated in terms of the acre. In this notation thirteen "acres" formed a "lot," and there were now about forty lots, owned by forty-seven persons. As an instance, this division of 1700 is to be "laid out to the severall persons that have right in the said Town Common; said Division to consist of one Acre and a Halfe to one acre of foundation Alotment; 'so y' a 20 Acre lot is to have 30 acres laied out to it.'" A large tract was thus disposed of; still more in 1706, 1708, and 1710. But the greatest allotments of undivided land were made in 1736, 1739, 1740, and 1747. These gave ten, five, four, and three acres, respectively, to one "acre" of commonage, so that one hundred and thirty, sixty-five, fifty-two, and thirty-nine acres of land hitherto common went to each of the forty-seven lots, some of which were owned by individuals singly, while some were shared by several in various proportions, according to the proprietary interest which they had inherited or acquired.

While the common lands were still extensive, that is, before 1737, they were used only for pasturage and for wood (if we except the occasional letting-out of a town meadow). In 1715 the pasturage was stinted to two neat cattle for one "acre" of commonage. Rights in the common forest were also proportional, but in 1715 the proprietors agreed "that all those persons that have no rite or title in the Town Commons shal have liberty to Cut dry wood for firing for the space of one wholl yeare, he or they paying one penny for Each Lodd and also that all persons haveing rite and not sufficient for their use shall Cut and pay as above said, all to y^e use of the proprior of this Town."² A similar practice is noticed by Von Miaskowski as existing in the common forests of Switzerland.

Since 1748 the common lands have been neither extensive nor important. They are regarded as still belonging to the heirs of the old proprietors, but the trustees of the town have long been allowed to manage and sell them, turning the slight proceeds into the town treasury. Almost the last tracts were recently sold, and before long all remnants of the common-land system will have disappeared from Easthampton, except perhaps one. Certain of the highways were early declared to be subject forever to common pasturage by the proprietors; and now, though the common lands are gone, it is generally supposed that a direct descendant of one of the old proprie-

¹ Easthampton Records, Book A, p. 5.

² Ibid., Book IV., p. 2.

tors may permit his cow to feed by the roadside, while a new-comer may not.

The east end of the territory of Easthampton is formed by the peninsula of Montauk, at the end of Napeague beach. This peninsula extends to the northeast about nine miles, and contains some nine thousand acres, exclusive of the numerous ponds. At the narrowest part, half-way from Napeague to Montauk Point, one of these, called Fort Pond, nearly divides Montauk into two parts. The western part is called the Hither Woods. The eastern broadens into a large open tract, which is divided breadthwise by a much larger body of water, called Great Pond. The northern part of this pond, running up almost to the Sound, divides this eastern tract into two nearly equal portions, of which the western is known as the North Neck, the eastern as the Indian Field; at its southern end it does not approach the sea so nearly, and divides the region unequally, the portion lying westward, toward Fort Pond, being much smaller than that toward the Point. When Easthampton was settled this tract was occupied by a numerous tribe, under the great sachem Wyandance. Their relations with the English were friendly from the first. In 1655 the sachem not only allowed them to cut grass on any part of Montauk, but agreed that "if att any tyme hereafter the Sachem or his successors see cause to alienate the s^d land att montaukut that it shall not be let sold or alienated to any person or persons but the Inhabitants of Easthampton afore^d." ¹ This agreement was renewed for seven years in 1658. Within a year Wyandance died, leaving the Sachem Squa or Sunk Squa and his young son, Wiancombone, in the guardianship of Lion Gardiner and his son. Then the Montauks were attacked and nearly destroyed by the Block Island Indians, and the remnant of the tribe fled to Easthampton, where the settlers seem to have treated them kindly. The first sale of Montauk was made in 1660, and was a grant of the whole peninsula, which was conveyed by "the ould Sachem Squa, late wife of Waundance, disceased, and her sonne Wiancombone, Poguatone, Shebanow, Massaquat, Powhe, Gentleman," and their associates, to the inhabitants of Easthampton, the latter paying them ten pounds sterling annually for ten years, "eyther in Indean corne [at 4s. a bushel] or els in good wampumpeague at six a penney." ² But in a bond made at the same time the settlers promise "that if when the Commissioners sit there be any corse taken for there [*i.e.*, the Indians] safe livinge at Meantaquit and that they desire there againe to sitt downe we will give them free liberty soe to doe." ³

Very soon the Indians desired to avail themselves of this privilege of returning. In place of the deed of 1660 they therefore, on February 11,

¹ Montauk (MS.) Papers, 1:11.

² Ibid., 1:1.

³ Ibid., 1:12.

1661 (1662 N. S.), gave a deed of "all y^e peice or neck of land belonging to Muntaucut land westward, to a fresh pond in a beach."¹ This grant of the Hither Woods, however, was, apparently, not to all the inhabitants, but "unto these our friends the Inhabitants of Easthampton, Excepting such as have Exempted themselves from y^e former agreement and shall from this our grannt." Light is thrown upon this by a deposition in the Easthampton town records, bearing date February 15, 1660 (1661 N. S.), and therefore referring to the "former agreement." "Beniamin Price saith that hee heard John Cirtland say when Meantaquit was to be bought that he had land enoughe and that he would not joyne in the purchase."² It appears, then, that only such of the inhabitants as chose contributed to the purchase of the Montauk lands, however lacking in public spirit he who refused may have been thought to be. The same deed stipulated that when the Indians had harvested their corn, the settlers' cattle might be driven in and pastured on the eastern half of the peninsula also; and that, according to previous agreements,³ the inhabitants of Easthampton should have the refusal of the remaining land.

In 1670 a small purchase was made, comprising the rectangle between Fort Pond, the south end of Great Pond, and the ocean; in 1687 all that remained was acquired. All three purchases received confirmation from the governors of the province. The conveyance of 1670⁴ is to the inhabitants of Easthampton, but, apparently, this means the same as in 1662; the last, however, is to individual proprietors; the shares seem to number forty, belonging some to individuals, some to lots, *e.g.*, "Mr. Thomas James, that lot which was George Millers, that lot which was Jeremiah Meachams lot, Stephen Hedges,"⁵ etc. This third purchase, though made by the town trustees, does not seem to be made for the town as a corporation; nor is it to be inferred with certainty from the number of shares that the purchasing body was identical with the hereditary proprietors of town commonage. The truth seems to be that the owners of Montauk were from the first a separate body. Certainly the shares which individuals owned in it differed from their shares in town commonage as early as January, 1688, before the third purchase; for then a rate of £200 is raised, "one Hundred and Twentie pounds upon y^e allotments of y^e Purchaso^r & proprieto^r of this Towne at home according to every mans allotment in devison of land And foureScore Pounds to bee Raised upon y^e land at Meantaucut according to every mans Share or Interest there."⁶ A

¹ Montauk Papers, 1:2.

² Easthampton Records, Book 2, p. 133.

³ Montauk Papers, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:5.

⁶ Easthampton Records, Book A, p. 1.

similar order is passed in 1692. Very early, at all events, the proprietors of Montauk were a distinct body, or, rather, three distinct bodies, one for each purchase. In each, too, the proportions owned by different persons varied. In 1697 we see traces of a dispute, such as common lands have always caused, between "the great Lott & Little lott men"¹ of the second purchase; the nature of the dispute is unknown. Finally, the shares in all were thrown together. A share in the first or in the second purchase being reckoned at £8, and a share in the third at £24, a share in the whole was reckoned at £40, the total amount being about £1,568.

From the time of the sales to the present day the Montauk Indians have continued to live upon the peninsula, treated with justice, apparently, but decreasing in numbers, according to the common fate of Indian tribes. At the time of the purchase of 1687, the trustees granted "that the indians have Leave to plant what corne soever that the have accasion for to plant from time to time: where they see cause themselves and their heirs forever upon the Land so purchased of them by us, they Rendering and paying yearly and every year upon demand unto the trustees or whome shall be appointed in Easthampton one care of indian corn."

When the deed of 1687 was confirmed in 1708, a fuller agreement was drawn up, which, with some subsequent modifications, has constituted the lease by which the Indians have held the land they have occupied. They were allowed to occupy either the North Neck, west of Great Pond, or the great field east of it, moving from one to the other whenever they saw fit, but never occupying both at once. In practice they have almost from the first occupied permanently the eastern division, known as the Indian Field. Here they were allowed to keep a certain number of live-stock and to raise what crops they chose, but the whole (except thirty acres for winter wheat, etc.) must be thrown open for pasturage to the cattle of the proprietors from the tenth or fifteenth of October to the twenty-fifth of April (O. S.). None of these rights could be leased or transferred. Instead of that part (£100) of the purchase-money which was not paid at once, the proprietors agreed to pay each year an annuity of forty shillings, which has been paid annually to the present time.

Occasional troubles have since arisen, such as those caused by Lord Cornbury's license to purchase vacant lands in Suffolk, granted in 1702 to Dr. John Bridges and the famous Rip van Dam, whose agent by trickery and strong waters got a deed from the sachems. But the only important additions to the agreement are those relating to strangers, of whatever color, who should join the Montauks or marry into the tribe in order to

¹ Easthampton Records, Book A, p. 3.

² Montauk Papers, 1:7.

acquire tribal rights. In 1719 the Indians agree that none such shall be allowed "to youse or improve any part of s^d land . . . by taking of a squaw or squaus."¹ A more explicit agreement was made in 1754 by a committee of the Indians consisting of "Sirus, Charles, Hannibal, Sore Hands, littel Pharo, Nezer, Tom, Long Ned, Sipeo;"² this provided that if an Indian squaw married any one not a Montauk Indian, neither she, nor her husband, nor their children, should ever after have any share in the Indian rights under the lease; if, however, a Montauk Indian married a woman from without the tribe, she became thereby a member of the tribe, and both the pair themselves and their children had rights with the full-blooded. It is supposed at Easthampton that this was the original practice of the Indian tribes, but Mr. Morgan seems to have shown that descent of nationality in the female line was the rule in that division of the Algonquins to which the Montauks belonged.³ Furthermore, the practice is in accordance with the general rule followed by European nations in the case of marriages with aliens, and nearly agrees with the special rule in American and old English law.⁴

The Indians have subsisted by tilling a small part of their large and fertile field, by fishing, and by hiring out as whalers or as laborers. A hundred and twenty years ago they numbered one hundred and sixty-two; now there are not a dozen, and of these none are full-blooded. Almost all have gone away from the old Indian field at Montauk; in this, and in their tendency to neglect farming for gunning, the old restless Indian blood still shows itself.

From the first, the proprietors of Montauk have used it almost solely for pasturage, though in recent years a little money has been obtained by the sale of wood and of fishing privileges. The primitive practice of having the sheep and cattle driven out each morning by the town herdsman, and driven back to the town at night, a practice which is still observed in some German and Swiss villages, and which was kept up at quaint Nantucket nearly till the beginning of the present century, was soon dropped at Easthampton. From before the third Indian purchase till the early part of the next century, the herdsman pastured the sheep flock on the town commons from March to July, and at Montauk from July to December. Then, the common lands at home being allotted, Montauk alone was used. The management of both was at first (in 1698, for instance) left to "the discre-

¹ Montauk Papers, 1:15.

² *Ibid.*, 1:10.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, XVII., pp. 140, 219, 222.

⁴ W. E. Hall, *International Law*, p. 189.

sion of Seven Men Unanimously Chosen at said [Town] Meeting (for the gennerall benifit of those that are proprietors thereto)."¹ But from 1713, and perhaps earlier, the common practice was that the proprietors of Montauk held a meeting immediately after each town meeting, and entrusted the regulation of the pasturing to the trustees of the town. In 1728, and for a few years succeeding, the proprietors voted that it should be managed by a committee of themselves. But in 173 $\frac{1}{2}$ "the tennants in Common of Mentauck being meet to Gether . . . a Greed by Major vote thare shall not be any Commity chose to manage Mentauck. Also at the abovesaid meeting it was a Greed on by Major vote that the management of Mentauck shall be Left to the trustees."² And the same was done year after year for more than a century. Trouble arising about 1850 because the town trustees had been turning the proceeds of Montauk into the town treasury, the management was withdrawn from them by the proprietors and given to a committee of themselves, who in 1852 were incorporated as the Trustees of Montauk, and who managed it for the owners till 1879.

During all this century and a half an exact account of each proprietor's interest was kept. The individual interests were still reckoned in (nominal) pounds, shillings, and pence, the shares being still £40 each, though the more common unit was the "eighth," of £5, which finally came to be worth over \$500. Interests had been bought in to some extent, so that the owner of one "pound" who, in 1748, owned one part in 1,568, now owned one part in about 1,417. The interests of individuals, which in 1717 varied from £57 10s. to 8s. 6d.,³ now varied from about £305 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁴ to $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The proprietors at the last numbered about one hundred and fifty.

The pasturage on Montauk has always, apparently, been stinted. At first eighty neat cattle were allowed to each share, but during the present century the usual number has been fifty-six or forty-eight, of which twelve might be put into the fatting-field during a part of the season. One horse or fourteen sheep were considered equivalent to two neat cattle. The proprietors, using or renting their rights, have generally kept upon the land, during the season, about fifteen hundred cattle, a hundred horses, and eight hundred sheep.

There are several curious analogies between these common-pasturage customs of Montauk and those of the allmends of German Switzerland, described by Von Miaskowski, and of the ancient land-communities in the Rhine Provinces, of which Prof. Hanssen has written. In some of the latter the interests are still stated in terms of old coins, Petermännchen, with sub-

¹ Easthampton Records, Book A, p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, Book IV., p. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, Book E, p. 12.

⁴ Or, of natives, £81.

divisions into Pfenningen; the division of shares is carried to as remarkable an extent as at Montauk. Imagine a tenant in common holding thirty-three one-hundred-and-twenty-three-thousandths of a common domain of two hundred and forty-two acres!¹ We see the same separation between the body of proprietors and the political community, the disputes between the two, the gradual reduction of the common lands till only pastures are left. In certain of the cantons of German Switzerland the proprietors hold general meetings in the spring, where each, as at Montauk, has a number of votes proportioned to his cattle-rights. And both in Switzerland and in Germany the conservative peasants break up the old custom with great reluctance. But this is anticipating, for it yet remains to be told how Montauk ceased to be the common pasture of the Easthampton proprietors.

In consequence of a suit for partition, brought by an outside purchaser, and of the impossibility of making satisfactory division of the land, the whole peninsula was sold at auction in October, 1879, and bought by a gentleman from one of the great cities. One hears rumors of fine club-houses and summer cottages, of iron piers and fast New York trains and European steamship lines; but surely one sees with some regret the breaking-up of an institution which has lasted two centuries, and which carries the mind back far beyond the time of Wyandance or the coming of the Mayflower, far even beyond the coming of Hengist and Cerdic, to the days of our German forefathers and of the greatest of Romans, who first described the customs which they followed in cultivating their half-cleared fields at the edge of the solemn forests.

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON

THE WANDERING PIPER—About fifty years ago, a tall, stout, broad-shouldered Scotchman visited many places in New York State, giving addresses and playing his bagpipe, which secured for him the name by which he became distinguished as "the wandering piper." There was something mysterious in his movements and conduct. It was conjectured by some that he travelled on a wager. He seemed to be educated, and was a skilled musician. I have his disguised autograph in the shape of a communication to the editor of a Brooklyn newspaper, with whom he had a controversy. It would be interesting to know the piper's object. H. C. V. S.

¹ At Irsch, Kr. Saarburg (Prof. Hanssen, in *Zeit. für die ges. Staatsw.*, 1880, p. 425).

THE FIRST LANDFALL OF COLUMBUS

IS THERE, EXTANT, EVIDENCE ENOUGH TO PROVE THE FIRST LANDING-
PLACE OF COLUMBUS IN THE NEW WORLD?

Every person who has attempted to solve this problem has used exclusively Las Casas' copy of the journal of Columbus, in the first volume of "Navarrete's Collection of Voyages," published at Madrid in 1825. In the opinion of scholars, this contains all the authentic information that can be relied upon to determine the question.

The writer made a study of the first landfall, and the track of Columbus through the Bahamas, which is printed in Appendix 18, "United States Coast and Geodetic Survey" for 1880. This study contains the journal of Columbus through the Bahamas in both Spanish and English, together with a discussion of all ascribed tracks. Also the writer's attempt to prove a new one, beginning at a little island called Samana or Atwood Cay; then going along the north shore of the Crooked Island group (named Samana on many old maps), and over to the southeast part of Long Island, where it makes a double track; thence to the north end of Fortune Island (one of the Crooked Island group); to the most southern of the Ragged Islands, and from there to Port Padre, in Cuba, as indicated on Map No. 1.

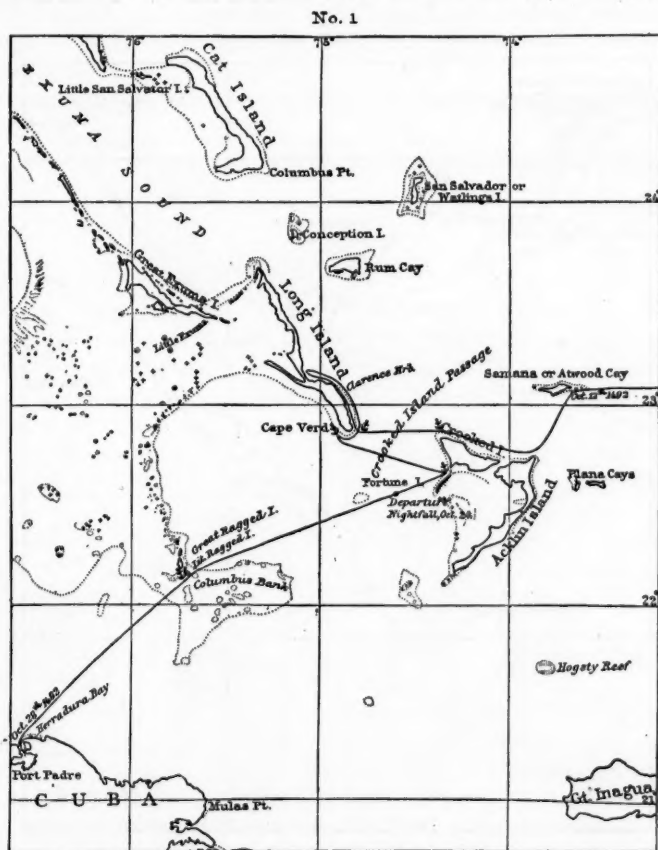
The Superintendent of the Survey is now distributing this report to the chief libraries in America and in Europe; and as this paper is a compend of that study, the reader is referred to it for authorities, and for a more critical examination of the subject.

It is admitted that Columbus first saw one of the Bahama Islands, that he anchored consecutively at four others, and that from the last one he went to Cuba.

Friday, October 12 (old style), 1492, he landed upon an island that the natives called *Guanahani*, but he named it *San Salvador*. Before he went on shore, the journal speaks of this as a "little island." When he had taken formal possession of it, the admiral wrote that it was "bien grande." But he always referred to it afterward as a "little island." He said that it was "very level," had "abundance of water," and "a very large lagoon in the middle." Also that a reef of rocks entirely surrounded it, within which there was "depth enough and ample harbor for all the vessels of Christendom; but the entrance is very narrow."

This citation is not sufficiently definite to point to any particular island

of the Bahamas. All are comparatively level, ranging from cays just "awash" to Grand Turk, which is seventy, and Cat, four hundred feet above the sea; the last being the highest land in the Bahamas. The admiral was here in the last month of the rainy season, subsequent to a



six months' down-pour. Then all these islands have "abundance of water," and the low parts are flooded, and so remain until November, when, with the exception of lagoons that are fed from the sea, the "abundance of water" gradually disappears, through the influence of an unclouded sun and the absorbing power of the coral rock.

Monday, October 15th, Columbus went along the north shore of the second island, and anchored about sunset at its west cape. He gave this island the name of *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*. He describes it as having one side, north and south, five leagues (15.9 nautical miles), and another, east and west, over ten leagues (31.8 nautical miles). These dimensions

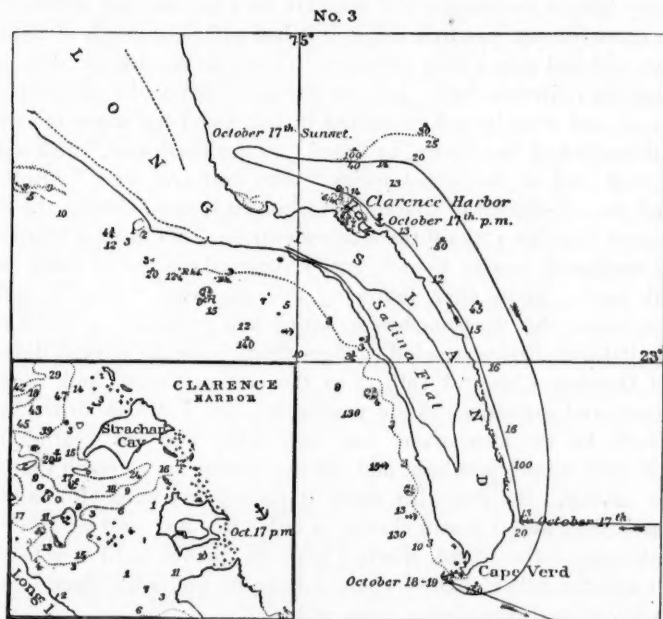
No. 2



direct the search for an island that has two sides and the included angle as here given. By referring to Map No. 2, we observe that Crooked and Acklin, together, correspond to the description that Columbus recorded for the second island. The channel separating Crooked from Acklin is easily waded, even at high water. In 1492 this was probably closed. From the sea both now appear as a single island. Columbus approached Acklin

from the northward and eastward, and saw the side that lies north and south, which is thirteen miles in length. The other, along which he coasted, is formed by Acklin and Crooked. The trend and length are W. by N. and E. by S., twenty-nine nautical miles. There is no other island nor islands in the Bahamas, except these two, that answer to Columbus' description of the second island. It is here that I shall begin to lay down his track with confidence, leaving the designation of the first island to the conclusion of this paper.

October 16th Columbus went on shore at the northwest part of Crooked



Island, but he does not describe the land. He wrote from here that an island "appears to be very large to the west," and he sailed toward it, either at 10 A.M. or at noon of the 16th, for he mentions both times. He anchored at the third island, Tuesday, the 17th, at a cape from which "all this coast," he said, "runs north-northwest and south-southeast." While crossing he called the distance between the second and third islands nine leagues (28.6 nautical miles), but after his arrival he made a closer estimate and said it was eight leagues (25.5 nautical miles). Turning to Map No. 3,

the probable anchorage of Columbus is shown on the southeast part of Long Island. This anchorage bears from that at Crooked W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., and the distance between them is twenty-five nautical miles. The shore line of Long Island runs as Columbus described the third island. He named this *Fernandina*.

At noon of the 17th he left his first anchorage at Long Island, and, with a fair wind, followed the coast to the north-northwest. Before reaching the end of the island he came to what he called "a very marvellous port with an entrance, although it may be said that there are two entrances, because it has a rocky islet in the middle and both are very narrow, but within it there is ample room for one hundred ships, if it had sufficient depth of water, and was clear, and had also a deep entrance." Since he must have been in want of a harbor for refitment, for he had not yet met with one, he dropped anchor off this port and went in and examined it, but found the water too shallow. After a detention of two hours he sailed "to the northwest," and soon discovered that part of the island which "runs east and west." Both Map No. 3 and the sub-sketch of Clarence Harbor on it show clearly the second anchorage of October 17th off the shallow entrances of Clarence Harbor, and also the northwest course thence, until he opened the line of coast running east and west. Soon after following this the wind "ceased, and then sprang up from the west-northwest, which was contrary to our course." The Admiral was then persuaded to "go about," and he steered during the night of October 17th and 18th, "to the east-southeast, and sometimes wholly east, and sometimes to the southeast; this I did in order to keep off the land, for the atmosphere was very misty and the weather threatening; it [the wind] was light and did not permit me to reach the land in order to anchor. So that this night it rained very hard after midnight, until almost day, and it is still cloudy in order to rain; and we [are] at the southeast cape of the island, where I hope to anchor until it gets clear in order to see the other islands where I have to go; ever since I came to these Indies it has been raining much or little."

He probably turned around about sunset, 5.40, and all night, with rainy weather and light winds, he was following back the course that he had gone over the preceding day. At daylight he appears to have been at the southeast cape, where he first anchored from Crooked Island. October 18th he wrote that he followed the wind; that he went around the island as far as he could, anchoring when unable to sail; but he did not go on shore. The current here generally sets to the northwest, and with baffling winds he would be likely to anchor frequently in order to lose nothing in working around the island. The return track to the anchorage of October 18th-

19th off the southwest point of Long Island is plainly seen on Map No. 3. If Columbus had visited only his second and his third islands, there never could have been any controversy as to the recognition of these. The concurrence of the "log" with the cartography of the Crooked group, and with the lower part of Long Island, is too obvious for doubt.

Friday, October 19th, at dawn, he weighed anchor from the south end of Long Island, and sent the "caravel Pinta to the east and southeast, and the caravel Niña to the south-southeast, having given orders that they should keep that course until midday, and then that both should change their course and return to me; and then before we had gone three hours we saw an island to the east, to which we directed our course, and all three vessels reached it before midday at its northern extremity, where there is a rocky inlet." The dawn of this day was near five o'clock, and he anchored before midday. He was underweigh about six hours. The speed of the vessels is not given. As he generally noted calms and light winds, it is probable that he had a good breeze. He would not have separated his vessels, as above described, if there was not wind enough. A pretty correct idea of the actual course made can be estimated from the foregoing citation. Three hours to the southward and eastward, and three hours east, gives east-southeast approximately. A rocky islet off the north end of Fortune Island (one of the Crooked Island group) bears E. by S. $\frac{3}{4}$ S., thirty-two nautical miles from the south end of Long Island. Therefore, according to the "log," at noon of October 19th, he was at anchor off the north end of Fortune Island. This is his third island, and he named it *Isabela* (see Map No. 2).

Columbus stayed four days and a half in the neighborhood of this island, striving, from both ends of it, "to sail to the north-east and to the east toward the south east and south;" but he was prevented by shallow water, such as appears on present maps. He was also deluded into staying by signs from the natives, indicating that a king was here, who "is master of all these neighboring islands, and goes clothed, and wears much gold on his person." He describes the coast as stretching "from the rocky islet to the westward [of north], and there was in it twelve leagues" (thirty-eight nautical miles). Probably a clerical error for miles, since the coast does stretch from the rocky islet north-northwest 13.2 Italian miles. This and the shoal water found off both ends of Fortune Island are the recognitions between the journal and chart. His words here are emotional, and his description of this island is so exuberant, that a person not familiar with the Bahamas might believe that this was the one supremely beautiful. But to the senses there is no difference among them. His pen was swayed

by his ardent expectation that here was a king "clothed" and with "much gold on his person." The hope of reaching the wealth of the Indies made him plough a straight furrow across the Atlantic, and his zigzags among the Bahamas had gold for their object.

The anchorage of October 19th is only eleven miles S. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. from that of the 15th, and the same island lies between (see Map No. 2). A cursory examination might suggest a doubt whether the Admiral could have come back to the same group of islands that he anchored at on the 15th, without recording the fact in his journal. We have seen that Columbus went W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. twenty-five miles from the position of the 15th to that of the 17th (Crooked to Long Island). From the 17th he followed the coast to the bight made by the east and west line, where he turned around. This track measures twenty-two nautical miles, and he was about three hours and forty minutes doing it. He retraced his course, *passed by* the southeast cape, and anchored off the lower end of Long Island, the position of October 18th-19th (see Map No. 3). From here, with a good breeze (say five miles an hour), he steered about E. S. E. This reckoning certainly takes him back to the neighborhood of the position of October 15th, and south of it. It is not a hypothesis, but the Admiral's "log-book" that anchors the ships off the north end of Fortune for the fourth island.

From the position of the 15th, Crooked Island, as looked at, runs east and west; and from that of the 19th north-northwest and south-southeast. Seamen know that the change of only a few points in the bearings of land alters the contour beyond recognition. Landsmen familiar with the outline of a range of hills from one point of view, understand how easily this is lost by crossing the range and looking at it from the other side.

Columbus was pondering on the rich lands described by Marco Polo, to which he had promised their Majesties to open the way by water. His journal, thoughtfully studied, reveals the causes for the omissions, the confusion of dates, the iterations, and his neglect to look back in it to see how often it was at variance with itself. His return along the coast of Long Island, and his anchoring off the southern end are proved, but nowhere does he assert that this is the same island that he had previously coasted.

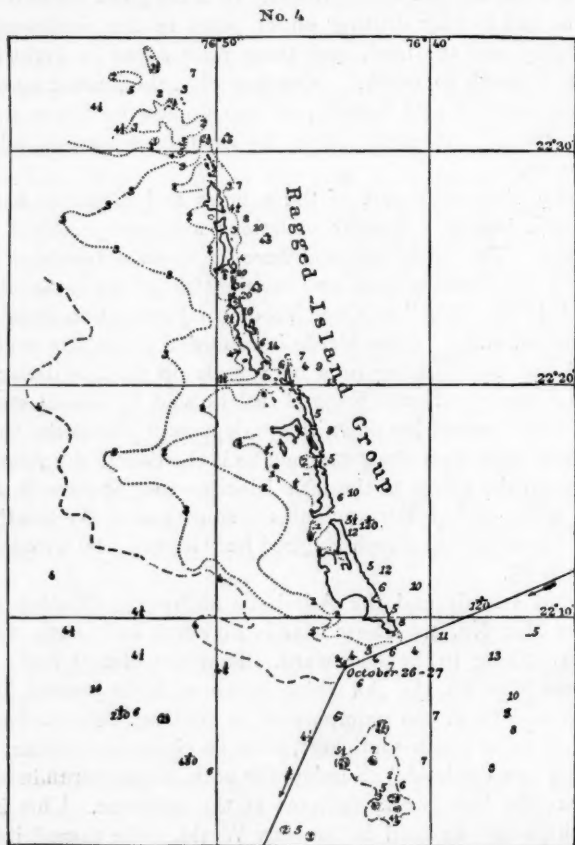
At the beginning of October 24th, Columbus left the fourth island, sailing from the "rocky islet, which is on the northern side where I was lying in order to go to the island of Cuba, which I heard from these people was very large, having much trade, and that there was in it gold, and spices, and large ships, and merchants; and they told me that I should go to it by the west-southwest, and so I think." He steers away on this course, giving another example of his doubling-back on a previous one. During the

24th he had calms, rain, and a "lovely" breeze. He adhered to the west-southwest course. The night of the 24th-25th was strong winds and rainy weather (probably from the northwest, because such are common here). He first reduced, and finally took in all sail. During the forenoon he made sail and for a while steered west (probably to make good his west-southwest course that he had lost by drifting under poles in the northwest squalls). At 3 P.M. "they saw the land, and there were seven or eight islands, all extending from north to south." October 26th, the journal says, "he was on the southern side of said islands; all was shallow for five or six leagues; he anchored there." He called them *las islas de Arena*—islands of sand (see Map No. 4).

The journal gives only part of the courses and distances between the fourth and fifth islands. Similar omissions are now practised in sailing among islands. The usual method here is to take bearings of known points of land. Columbus took one at nightfall of the 24th of October, and entered it in the "log" as Cape Verde, of Fernandina, bearing northwest 22.3 nautical miles. Cape Verde is conceded to be the south end of Long Island, and this bearing puts his vessels on the line drawn from the north end of Fortune to South Ragged that he said he should steer—west-southwest. Let a person lay down this "departure" from the south point of Long Island, and then draw tangent to it the course the Admiral tried to maintain from the fourth to the fifth islands—west-southwest, and it will connect the north end of Fortune and the south end of the South Ragged. From this "departure" to South Ragged he "logged" 66.8 miles, and the true distance is 65.

The Ragged Islands and the Admiral's anchorage October 26th-27th are shown on Map No. 4. These islands lie north and south, and have a shoal bank stretching to the southward. They are distant half a day's sail from Cuba (see Map No. 1). All which agree with the journal. Columbus evidently deemed them too unimportant to land on. At sunrise, October 27th, he sailed away south-southwest, with an eight-mile breeze, "and before night they saw the land." Sunday, the 28th, he anchored in a beautiful river in Cuba that had twelve fathoms at the entrance. This is the first harbor his ships had entered in the New World. He named it *San Salvador*. I infer, by the courses and distances sailed from South Ragged, the currents setting to the west along the coast of Cuba, and the description of the harbor, that this is the present *Port Padre*. Columbus' description of the Bahama Islands, especially the fourth that he visited, compared with that given by him of Cuba, produces an impression of the superiority of the former; but all the Bahamas are insignificant coral islands,

with only a moderate elevation above the sea. Cuba is the "Queen of the Antilles;" it has mountains seven thousand feet high, and there is a lofty range on the side that Columbus coasted. The contrast between this island and the Bahamas strikes the beholder even in sailing along the coast.



That the Admiral blended them in his writing is a warning to investigators to discriminate between his ideal descriptions and his "log." The former express the mental condition of a religious enthusiast, who, after eighteen years of painful solicitation, found the fruition of his hopes among the little islands of the Bahamas. The "log" is the professional record of

seamen ; the courses, distances, trend of coasts, direction of winds, etc., are purely technical matters that seamen are not likely to put down under the influence of their imagination. Nor are these things capable of exaggeration. Twelve fathoms, southeast wind, east and west coast line, shoal water to the southward, mean precisely what is said, and these words can be relied upon, unless a clerical error has been made. This paper is an effort to separate the "log" from the narrative, and to "plot" that on a correct chart. If the Crooked Island group is chosen for the second island,

Columbus, it cannot be denied that Samana is his first. October 13th, the day preceding his departure from Guanahani, the Admiral wrote: "I determined to wait until to-morrow evening, and then to sail for the south west, for many of them told me that there was land to the south and to the southwest and to the northwest, and that those from the northwest came frequently to fight with them, and so go to the southwest to get gold and precious stones." At the second island he wrote that it "was over five leagues distant, rather seven," from the first. Therefore the second island bore from the first "to the southwest," and is from 15.9 to 22.3 nautical miles distant. From the east part of Samana to the northeast part of the Crooked group the course and distance are S. W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S., 23 nautical miles. There is no island except Samana that holds this stated relation to Crooked. Neither is there anything in the journal that forbids us to recall to this little island the enchorial name of Guanahani.

Map No. 5 is a tracing of a part of the map of Juan de la Cosa, which was published at Paris by Jomard. The original was found by Baron Humboldt, and it is now in possession of the Spanish Government in Madrid. It was drawn in colors on ox-hide. The signature of la Cosa and the date, 1500, are in the corner. He went with the Admiral on his first and second voyages, as pilot and chart-maker. Subsequently he made several voyages to the New World, where he finally lost his life. His sea knowledge was deemed trustworthy by the Court of Spain.

Upon this map Samana is laid down as a large *interior* island, about where the Crooked Island group are now found. Samana continued to hold this place on a majority of the old maps until the middle of the eighteenth century, when it appears to have been shifted to the little island now known as Samana, or Atwood Cay.

La Cosa's sketch of Guanahani makes it a little, outlying, *east and west* island; and its relative position on his map is so much like the present Samana on modern maps that the student cannot fail to observe it. If this map truly embodies the island knowledge gathered on the first voyage to the New World, then it strengthens the selection of Samana for the first landing place.

G. V. FOX

COLONEL SAMUEL WASHINGTON—In Elizabeth, N. J., at the house of a great-granddaughter, recently from Philadelphia, but a native of the Shenandoah Valley, Va., is a full-length life-size *portrait* of this brother of General George Washington. The picture, finely executed and fresh looking, was taken when he was but a youth of nineteen, and in military dress. He had *five* wives in his day, one of them a *Steploe*, from whom the respected lady above mentioned is descended.

W. H.

HENRY BURBECK

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY—FOUNDER OF THE
UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

The artillery of the army of the United States, as a scientific arm of service, has always been justly distinguished in the military records of the nation. No history of its achievements, however, would be complete without a notice of and due acknowledgments to the first two chiefs of artillery, who successively gave it their especial attention from 1775 to 1815.

The first of these accomplished officers was Major-General Henry Knox, whose military history as Colonel and Chief of Artillery on General Washington's staff, Brigadier-General of Artillery, and Major-General United States Army, commanding the Continental Corps of Artillery, comprising four regiments, during the Revolutionary War, and then as Secretary of War, is too well known to need further reference. It is sufficient to say that during that contest the American artillery became, in its remarkable mobility and in the precision and rapidity of its fire, the equal, if not actually the superior, of the Prussian artillery, then the most effective in Europe.

The second of these officers, who practically succeeded Major-General Knox, was Brevet Brigadier-General Burbeck, the subject of this sketch, whose service of nearly forty years as an artillery officer occurred at one of the most interesting periods in American history. He was born in Boston, Mass., June 8, 1754. His father, William Burbeck, was of English parentage, but born in Boston, in 1715, and died there July 22, 1785. The latter studied gunnery and became a civilian official in the Ordnance Department of the Royal Artillery, and was for many years stationed at Old Castle William, now Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, until the breaking out of hostilities at Lexington and siege of Boston, when he relinquished his appointment under the Crown and made his escape via Noddle's Island and proceeded to Cambridge, where he reported to the Committee of Safety. Soon afterward Mr. William Burbeck, on June 16, 1775, was recommended by the Committee of Safety to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress for appointment as lieutenant-colonel of the Provincial regiment or Train of Artillery, of which Colonel Richard Gridley became the colonel. He was accordingly commissioned on June 21st. Two days later the Pro-

vincial Congress appointed Colonel Gridley, in addition to his artillery rank, to be Chief Engineer with the rank of Major-General, and also provided that Lieutenant-Colonel Burbeck should have the additional rank of colonel.

As the duties of Chief Engineer in the siege operations before Boston were incompatible with the exercise of the artillery commission, and as Colonel Gridley was in feeble health, he relinquished his artillery rank. Colonel Burbeck was then exclusively employed on ordnance duty in superintending the Laboratory, and, accordingly, Henry Knox, Esquire, on November 17, 1775, was appointed colonel of the regiment, which meanwhile had been taken on the Continental Establishment. It served throughout the siege of Boston, a detachment having been at "Bunker Hill."

After the evacuation of that town, most of the companies were ordered to the city of New York, and on April 16, 1776, from headquarters, Cambridge, Colonel Burbeck was ordered to proceed and take post at the same place. On the same day he replied to Colonel Knox that, when he had come out of Boston and reported to the Committee of Safety, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress had voted him one hundred and fifty pounds per annum during the war, and four shillings sterling a day during life, and that it would be ungenerous to leave their service. Further, that he was advanced in years and therefore unwilling to part with this provision, besides which he was then finishing the drafts of cannon and mortars for the province, which he considered sufficient to excuse him from compliance with the instructions.

He might also have added that, by the new Continental arrangement of his regiment, he would have lost actual rank and pay by continuing in it, and by leaving the service of Massachusetts for that of the Continental Congress. He was accordingly discharged from Continental service on May 25, 1776, and given, by Massachusetts, command of old Castle William, on Castle Island.

June 24, 1776, Colonel Knox wrote to him from the city of New York, congratulating him on the reputation he had acquired there "in driving away the King's ships from Boston Harbor, and in the taking of the Highland transports." Captain Edward Burbeck, the eldest son of Colonel Burbeck, served as a captain in the Gridley-Knox regiment of artillery from May, 1775, until the close of the year 1776.

His brother, Henry Burbeck, the subject of our sketch, spent the early part of his life at Castle William, with his father, Colonel William Burbeck, for his instructor. For a time he was enabled to attend Master Tileston's writing school in Boston, and in his twentieth year he became a member

of Captain and Brevet-Major Amos Paddock's Chartered Provincial Artillery company, which subsequently furnished nearly thirty commissioned officers to the Continental Army.

When the affair of Lexington took place he was in Boston, and in consequence of the measures taken by the British Commander-in-Chief to prevent the departure of citizens who were friendly to the American cause, it was several days before he was enabled to make his escape, which he eventually did as pretended member of the family of an acquaintance, who had secured a pass.

Having proceeded to Cambridge, he joined a volunteer artillery company under Captain Jotham Horton, which had charge of two six-pounders.

On May 19, 1775, he received his first commission as Lieutenant of Artillery, signed by Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and on June 16th was assigned to the Massachusetts artillery regiment under Colonel Richard Gridley, which, after Knox's promotion, was subsequently known as the Third Regiment Continental Corps of Artillery under Colonel John Crane.

He witnessed the battle of Bunker Hill, though not a participant in it, and served throughout the siege of Boston, until its evacuation by the British army, and was promoted to First Lieutenant January 1, 1776.

In April, 1776, he marched with his company to the city of New York, and remained on duty there, much of the time in command of his company of ninety men, until the evacuation of the city on Sunday, September 15, 1776.

In the subsequent operations which culminated in the action at Harlem Heights and the battle of White Plains, he was on duty in the main Continental Army, commanding his company in the absence from sickness of Captain Thomas Waite Foster, who never was able to rejoin it, and was attached with a portion of it to Brigadier-General Samuel Holden Parson's brigade, in Major-General William Heath's division. When the retreat took place through the Jerseys, this division was detached from the main army and ordered by General Washington to Peekskill, N. Y., to defend the Highlands. He subsequently ordered it to join him, and Parson's brigade accordingly crossed the Hudson on December 10, 1776, and got as far as Pompton, N. J., when countermarching orders were received from him on the 23d, and it returned to Peekskill. At the close of the year the terms of enlistment of the men in the Massachusetts artillery regiment expired, but at request of General Washington, they consented to continue in service for six weeks longer.

Two detachments were then sent out, one of which went down to Kingsbridge; the other, under Brigadier-General James Clinton, with about

one thousand militia and two pieces of artillery, under Lieutenant Burbeck, crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry, near Stony Point, and marched through Haverstraw, Orange, Tappan, Kakiak, and Ramapo to Paramus, in order to make the British feel insecure and detach large garrisons from the forces operating before General Washington. On returning to Peekskill, Lieutenant Burbeck marched his company to Boston, where his regiment was reorganized "for the war." On January 1, 1777, he had been promoted to Captain-Lieutenant in the same. In the late spring he was ordered to Saratoga, N. Y., but was on duty in the Northern Department only a short time when he received instructions to join the main Continental army under General Washington. Thenceforth his service during the war was constantly with the artillery of that army. He participated in the campaign of the year 1777, in Pennsylvania, during which he was promoted to be captain in his regiment, September 12, 1777, and was in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and indecisive affair at Whitemarsh, and then went into the ever-memorable winter quarters at Valley Forge. In the following June, 1778, he marched with the army through New Jersey in pursuit of Sir Henry Clinton, and fought in the battle of Monmouth, and then marched to White Plains, N. Y. During the subsequent winter he was quartered with his company in Connecticut. He was with the army in the campaigns of 1779 and 1780, in New York and New Jersey, and in the operations in 1781, which were participated in by the French Auxiliary Army under Count de Rochambeau, before the British lines at New York. When a portion of the army was detached to proceed to Yorktown, Va., his company remained on duty with Major-General Heath's division, to which it belonged, in the Highlands of the Hudson. Here he was stationed until after the official announcement of the cessation of hostilities on April 18, 1783, at which time his company was doing duty at West Point. Upon the institution of the Society of the Cincinnati, at the cantonments of the American army at Newburgh, by the regular Continental officers, he was among the first, on June 9, 1783, to subscribe to its highly laudable and patriotic declaration of principles.

A few days later, pursuant to General Orders from Army Headquarters, Newburgh, June 2, 1783, all enlisted men in his regiment who had been enlisted only "for the war," were directed by Regimental Orders, Third Artillery, West Point, June 11, 1783, to be furloughed, and a suitable number of commissioned officers placed on "waiting orders." Only four companies were retained, into which the soldiers of the other companies who had enlisted for the term of three years, and who were not then entitled to discharge, were transferred to complete them.

Captain Burbeck's company was one of the four specially designated for retention.

On September 30, 1783, he was promoted to be major by brevet in the army, and on November 25, 1783, he had the satisfaction of entering the city of New York on its evacuation by General Sir Guy Carleton and the British forces.

His subsequent artillery duty was at West Point until January 1, 1784, when he was honorably discharged and proceeded to his home in Boston, after a continuous field service of eight years, seven months, and twelve days.

But one artillery company was specially retained in service, namely, Captain and Brevet-Major John Doughty's, of the Second Regiment Continental Corps of Artillery, which, after many vicissitudes of incorporation and honorable service, is still an artillery unit of organization in the army of the United States, and now known as Light Battery "F," Fourth Regiment United States Artillery. A very few men of Brevet-Major Burbeck's late regiment, whose terms of enlistment had not quite expired, were also retained at West Point under a captain-lieutenant, but the number rapidly diminished by expiration of enlistments, and in a few months none were left.

The necessities of the country, however, required a larger artillery force, and on June 3, 1784, the Continental Congress increased the number of companies to two, the second to be raised in Pennsylvania. This not proving sufficient, that body, when deciding upon an increase of the military establishment, October 20, 1786, assigned to Massachusetts, as part of its quota, two companies of artillery, thus making the artillery of the army consist of four companies, which were formed into a battalion under a Major Commandant, and Brevet-Major John Doughty was promoted to its command.

The professional ability which had been evinced by Brevet-Major Burbeck, pointed him out as peculiarly qualified for the command of one of the two companies to be raised, and he was accordingly appointed, with rank from October 20, 1786, and immediately began to recruit his company, which was stationed at old Castle William, Boston Harbor.

On April 9, 1787, Congress ordered the disbandment of the additional troops authorized to be raised by its resolve of October 20, 1786, except the two companies of Massachusetts artillery. This took place April 21, 1787. Major William North, Inspector U. S. A., by orders dated at Castle Island on the day before, said that: "Captain Burbeck will take command of all the Federal troops at this point to-morrow, at 6 o'clock A.M." He thus succeeded to the command which his father had formerly exercised. The artillery battalion was then much scattered, two companies

being on the remote frontier with Brevet Brigadier-General Harmar, and the other two lately raised were at Castle Island, under Captain Burbeck as senior to Captain Joseph Savage, who commanded the other Massachusetts company. He had hardly assumed command of the post when he received orders from General Knox, Secretary of War, dated "War Office," April 11, 1787, to proceed with both companies to Springfield Arsenal, to guard the public property there. Thence, under orders from the same authority, he marched his own company to West Point, where he arrived August 15, 1787, and was quartered with it in the old Connecticut barracks. He remained in command at West Point for two years. On August 22, 1789, the Secretary of War ordered him to embark his company on the 26th for Georgia, in order to serve as a guard for Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, Lieutenant-Colonel David Humphreys, and the Hon. Cyrus Griffin, Commissioners appointed to treat with the Creek Indians. On September 13th, the Commissioners ordered him from Savannah to Augusta. The treaty, however, then failed, and he returned with his company to West Point, where he arrived about November 20, 1789, and again assumed command of that post.

On December 8, 1789, he was ordered to Boston on recruiting service, and directed to complete his company to seventy enlisted men. This was speedily accomplished, and on March 30, 1790, the Secretary of War directed him to embark his company at West Point, in the sloop Rambler, and the artillery company of Captain Joseph Savage and infantry company of Captain John Smith, First Infantry, in the brigantine States General, and proceed to Georgia. He accordingly left West Point on April 5, 1790, and on the 10th received further instructions from the Secretary of War in New York City (then the capital of the United States), which carried his own company to the mouth of the St. Mary's river, Georgia, where he built a small fort which he called Fort St. Tammany. The other two companies went respectively to Rock Landing and Beard's Bluff, Ga. Captain Burbeck's post was then on the southern boundary of the United States, and in close proximity to a Spanish military station, and many civilities were exchanged with the Spanish officers.

In the difficulties growing out of questions concerning runaway slaves and depredations across the frontier, he officially intervened with so much tact and success as to receive the thanks of the War Department, particularly on September 13, 1790.

He remained in command of Fort St. Tammany until June, 1792, when he received a communication from the War Department, dated March 16th, informing him that President Washington had appointed him, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to be Major Commandant

of the Battalion of Artillery, with rank from November 4, 1791, vice Major William Ferguson, who had succeeded Doughty and been killed in St. Clair's defeat. He was ordered to proceed to Philadelphia, and then, after a short leave, went to Fort Washington, Cincinnati, and joined the Western army, as Chief of Artillery to Major-General Anthony Wayne, General-in-Chief. On December 22, 1793, Major-General Wayne, from his headquarters, Greenville, directed him to proceed, in command of a detachment of eight companies of infantry and one of artillery, to the site of St. Clair's defeat of November 4, 1791, and erect four block-houses of twenty feet square in the clear, connecting them with pickets agreeably to a plan furnished. He was also directed to search for the artillery lost in the battle.

The Miami Indians were bitterly hostile, and the erection of the work was one of difficulty and danger. It was, however, promptly completed, and named by him Fort Recovery. Major Burbeck then gave his attention to searching for the artillery. Two brass six-pounders were found in the branch of the river Wabash near the battle-ground—where they had been finally thrown by the few remaining men of the two artillery companies when the day was irretrievably lost. A three-pounder was also found. The American killed still remained unburied, and Lieutenant William Henry Harrison, First Infantry, afterward President of the United States, was given charge of the detachment, which collected over two hundred skulls and many bones, which were buried with military honors, and with a salute by three times three from the same artillery which had been lost on the fatal day. After garrisoning Fort Recovery, Major Burbeck returned to headquarters, and was thanked in General Orders. In the following year, on August 20, 1794, he took part in the battle of the Maumee Rapids, in which Wayne totally defeated and routed the enemy.

He continued to act as Chief of Artillery first to Wayne and then to Brigadier-General James Wilkinson, after the former turned over the command of the army to the latter at army headquarters, Greenville, December 14, 1795, in order to proceed East on public business. He also acted as President on a number of General Courts Martial. On May 9, 1794, Congress enacted that to the battalion of artillery then in service should be added three other battalions, each to have a major and four companies, the whole to constitute a regiment of "artillerists and engineers" of sixteen companies, under a Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant. On April 27, 1798, a second regiment of artillerists and engineers was also authorized to be raised, to consist of a Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant and three battalions, with a Major to each.

Major Burbeck, by his long and creditable service, was entitled to have been promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant First Regiment Artillerists and Engineers. Colonel Stephen Rochefontaine, who had been a Captain and Brevet-Major in the Continental Corps of Engineers in the Revolution, and subsequently Adjutant-General in St. Domingo, was, however, appointed February 26, 1795. In September, 1796, Major Burbeck, who had continued as Chief of Artillery to the Western army, was ordered, with two companies, to take possession of Fort Mackinac, on the island of Michilimackinac, at the pass between Lakes Michigan and Huron, and rebuild and garrison it.

On May 7, 1798, Colonel Rochefontaine was discharged from the military service, and Major Burbeck was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant First Regiment Artillerists and Engineers, with rank from the same date. As the Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Second Regiment was only appointed with rank from June 7, 1798, this left Colonel Burbeck the chief of the corps.

He continued, however, in command at Fort Mackinac, which was both a remote post and one deemed of considerable importance, until November 9, 1799, when he embarked for Detroit, where he arrived on the 17th with a portion of his Mackinac garrison, and assumed command. Here he remained until ordered by Brigadier-General James Wilkinson, in February, 1800, to repair to Washington, where he arrived on July 4th, and immediately entered on the duties of Chief of Artillerists and Engineers, and gave directions to both regiments. This became necessary, as Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Louis Tousard, of the Second Regiment, had been appointed by President Adams, with consent of the Senate, under the Act of July 16, 1798, Inspector of Artillery, an office equivalent then to Chief of Ordnance.

In the attempts which had been made by Congress to prepare for a previously anticipated foreign war, a number of places on the seaboard had been fortified, and as the duties of engineer officers were not compatible with those of the artillery, Colonel Burbeck, on September 28, 1800, submitted to the Secretary of War, Samuel Dexter, a valuable memorandum of recommendations, in which he particularly recommended the establishment of a "MILITARY SCHOOL, for instructing the arts of gunnery, fortification, pyrotechny, and everything relative to the art of war; and that there be taken from the line of artillerists and engineers one field officer and four captains well versed in science, especially in mathematics and natural philosophy, to be employed in superintending the laboratory and instructing the officers of the line and the cadets, whom the commanding officer of each separate district shall send, in rotation, for the purpose of being in-

structed; and that the whole superintendency and instruction be afforded by these officers."

He also recommended the establishment of an Ordnance Laboratory, and "that there be formed a small corps of engineers, continually to be increased in numbers as the exigencies of the country shall require, and be separate from the artillerists."

These important recommendations could not then be given immediate effect to. The country was in the midst of an exciting political presidential campaign between the federalists, favorable to President John Adams, and the Democrats or democratic-republican party, under the lead of Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Secretary of War Dexter had only come into office on May 13, 1800, and was transferred to be Secretary of the Treasury on December 31, 1800. He was succeeded after several weeks by Roger Griswold, a member of the House of Representatives from Connecticut, who was appointed Secretary of War on February 3, 1801, and vacated office on March 4th, upon the inauguration of Jefferson as President. Meanwhile Brigadier-General Wilkinson, General-in-Chief of the Army, found it desirable to proceed to the Southwest to take personal command of the forces in the Mississippi Valley.

Accordingly, pursuant to General Orders, dated Headquarters, Washington, December 1, 1800, Colonel Burbeck was placed in military command of all the Atlantic Seaboard and Eastern and Middle States down to and including the Georgia frontier, with headquarters in Washington. He was at the same time authorized to appoint General Courts Martial, and ordered to report directly to the Secretary of War. This placed him in a position of great usefulness, and he exercised his influence in such a manner as to entitle him to a high place in the honor roll of the American army. As the laws then stood, each company of the two regiments of artillerists and engineers was entitled to two cadets with the pay, clothing, and rations of a sergeant, and the Secretary of War was authorized to procure "the necessary books, instruments, and apparatus for the use and benefit of the said corps."

By an act of July 16, 1798, the President was authorized "to appoint four teachers of the arts and sciences necessary for the instruction of the artillerists and engineers."

We have seen why Colonel Burbeck's recommendations as to a military academy could not be immediately made effective. When he became, in December, a department commander, a large part of his own corps fell within the limits of his geographical command. On March 5, 1801, President Jefferson appointed Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, to be Secretary

of War. The latter had served during the Revolutionary War, from the beginning of the siege of Boston, in the New Hampshire line, finally retiring, by reason of juniority, on January 1, 1783, as Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the First New Hampshire Continental Infantry. He was an intimate and trusted friend of Colonel Burbeck, and they had served long together during the Revolution.

The Inspector of the Army, Major Thomas H. Cushing, of Massachusetts, whose duties were then the same as now performed by the Adjutant-General, had been a First Lieutenant, First Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry in the Revolution, and had also for years been on terms of intimacy with Colonel Burbeck—an intimacy, by the way, which continued the closest through life. Colonel Burbeck's opportunity, therefore, had come, and, as he had already sounded his field officers and found that he had their cordial co-operation, as soon as Secretary Dearborn had become familiar with the duties of his office, he brought forward his proposition of September 28, 1800, for the establishment of a military academy at West Point. It was favorably considered, and on July 20, 1801, Secretary Dearborn directed that all the cadets of the corps of artillerists and engineers, except Cadet Joseph Biddle Wilkinson (son of the General), be sent to West Point by September 1, 1801. The reason why Cadet Wilkinson was not sent was because he was then in the Sophomore class at Princeton.

Colonel Burbeck immediately set about the object he had so much at heart. There were then fifty-six cadets authorized for the service, nearly all of whom had already been appointed. These were ordered by him to proceed to West Point, and the headquarters and band of the Second Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers were also ordered there. Colonel Burbeck's duties as Department Commander requiring him to continue in Washington, he directed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Tousard, Inspector, to proceed from the laboratory at Frankford Arsenal to West Point, and organize the military academy.

Colonel Tousard was an accomplished officer. He had been a captain in the artillery regiment of La Fère, in the French army, and while holding that commission, was granted leave by Louis XVI. to enter the United States service, which he did as captain of artillery, with rank from December 1, 1776. He became Chief of Artillery to the left wing, under Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette, in Major-General John Sullivan's army at the siege of Newport, in August, 1777, and in the battle of Rhode Island had his horse killed and his right arm shattered by a cannon ball when leading a charge to attempt the capture of one of the enemy's field pieces.

For his services then he received from Congress the brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tousard was probably the most competent officer in the corps to have been continued as Superintendent of the Military Academy, had his other duties permitted. As early as May, 1801, Colonel Burbeck had sent him to West Point to examine and report on the condition of the barracks, and capabilities of the post for the desired purpose, before submitting the matter to Secretary Dearborn.

As Lieutenant-Colonel Tousard was liable to be called away by his other duties, Colonel Burbeck directed Major Jonathan Williams, Second Regiment Artillerists and Engineers, who was then at Fort Niagara, to proceed to West Point and assume the immediate superintendency of the Military Academy, which he accordingly entered upon in October, 1801. Lieutenant-Colonel Tousard, however, made frequent and prolonged visits to see that the instruction was properly being carried on.

Colonel Burbeck intended that Captain William Amherst Barron, Second Regiment Artillerists and Engineers, a graduate of Harvard of the class of 1787, and classmate of John Quincy Adams and Chief Justice William Cranch, should be principal assistant instructor, and accordingly sent him orders to that effect to New Castle, Portsmouth Harbor, where he was in charge of a small work then building. As, however, Barron reported that if he then left without the completion of his work much damage would ensue, his orders were temporarily suspended, and Lieutenant Stephen Worrell, Second Regiment Artillerists and Engineers, was detailed in his place. Lieutenant Peter Anthony Dransey, First Regiment Artillerists and Engineers, and Mr. George Barron, who had been appointed by President Adams, on January 6, 1801, a teacher of arts and sciences in the corps, completed the staff of the Academy, Barron acting as Professor of Mathematics. A number of subaltern officers, and among them Lieutenants James Wilson, Lewis Howard, and Robert Weir Osborn, of the Second Regiment Artillerists and Engineers, were directed to undergo instruction at the Academy.

Captain John Lillie's company, second battalion, Second Regiment Artillerists and Engineers, constituted the garrison of West Point, which was considered as a distinct military command from the Academy, and directly under Major Decius Wadsworth, Second Regiment Artillerists and Engineers, who was then stationed at Fort Jay, Governor's Island, New York Harbor. This separation of the Academy from the Post was distinctly enunciated by Secretary of War Dearborn, in a communication dated War Department, December 2, 1801, in which he said that the "students would be under the immediate direction of the Superintendent of the School,

and, of course, no officer of the garrison will hereafter consider himself authorized to interfere in any manner with the students, or to give any orders respecting them or any other person attached to the institution, and no person attached to the school should be included in any garrison returns."

Thus arose a dual jurisdiction which still continues, except that the command of the garrison and post is now vested in the superintendent or next officer in rank in the Academy, by the United States Revised Statutes.

On September 1, 1801, Lieutenant-Colonel Tousard having arranged the classes, the course of instruction was regularly begun, and during the following week the two cadets from Fort Independence, who had been delayed by contrary winds, arrived, and the number was complete. Some of the lieutenants did not like being required to study and acted insubordinately in the section room. This coming to the notice of the Secretary of War, he enclosed to Colonel Burbeck, on October 19, 1801, an extract of a letter received by him that morning on the subject, and requested his particular attention to it, and desiring him, as senior officer of artillery and commandant of the district comprehending West Point, to give the necessary orders for the occasion. Thus vigorously supported by the War Department, Colonel Burbeck took such measures as resulted in the immediate submission of the officers concerned, who, November 16, 1801, through Lieutenant-Colonel Tousard, who was then temporarily at West Point, expressed their regrets. Thenceforth the Military Academy became firmly established.

On the following March 16, 1802, Congress reduced and consolidated the little American army to one-half its former proportions, although it was plain that an increase was necessary and would soon have to be made. The two regiments of artillerists and engineers were consolidated into a regiment of artillery, and supernumerary officers discharged. Colonel Burbeck, as senior military officer in Washington, although he could not prevent the reduction, was enabled to get the principal ideas of his original memorandum of September 28, 1800, engrafted on the bill. The corps of engineers was established separate from the artillery, and composed of the officers he deemed qualified. The corps was also made expansive as the necessity of the country should require. The Military Academy was also constituted on an enduring foundation, and left in charge of the officers he had put over it. Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Burbeck was promoted on April 1, 1802, to be Colonel of the regiment of artillery. He may justly be regarded as the founder of the United States Military Academy and of the Corps of Engineers as still existing.

President Washington in 1793, and again in December, 1796, had recommended a military academy, and James McHenry, Secretary of War

under President Adams, January 31, 1800, had submitted to the Military Committee of the House of Representatives, an elaborate but impracticable plan as the basis of new legislation. It remained for Colonel Burbeck, under the laws as they then stood, and in an eminently practical and unobtrusive way, to give complete effect to the previously oft-expressed wishes of General Washington.

The distinguished and important position which the Military Academy has, for many years, held among the educational institutions of the country, and the eminent and enduring national services rendered by many of its graduates, continue to attest the wisdom and public necessity of its foundation; and yet, before the appearance of this sketch of the gallant but modest Burbeck, no printed document will be found which in the remotest degree associates his name with its inception or establishment.

This was probably due to a highly erroneous statement of Colonel Jonathan Williams, Corps of Engineers, in connection with his report of March 14, 1808, to Congress on the then condition of the Academy, to the effect that "the institution was established at West Point, in the year 1801, under the direction of a private citizen, and was nothing more than a mathematical school for the few cadets that were then in service. It was soon found that the government of young military men was incompatible with the ordinary system of schools, and, consequently, this institution ran into disorder, and the teacher into contempt."

In subsequent years, when Congressional records were printed as State papers, so as to become more generally known, and the records of West Point had been destroyed by fire, historians of the Military Academy accepted this statement in ignorance of the existence of official documents directly to the contrary, and have been disposed to give to Williams the credit of practically establishing it.

In June, 1803, Colonel Burbeck was ordered to proceed to Detroit and assume temporary command, which he did on July 2d, after a long and interesting trip via New York, Albany, Utica, Buffalo, and Lake Erie. One of his principal duties was to establish a frontier post. He returned to Washington late in the fall, and in the following year took post at Fort McHenry, Maryland, with his regimental staff. Pursuant to General Orders, dated Head-Quarters, Washington, March 19, 1805, army headquarters were transferred to St. Louis, and Brigadier-General Wilkinson resumed command in the Mississippi Valley. Colonel Burbeck was given command of all the "troops and garrisons east of the mountains, of those on the lakes and their waters, of South West Point and Fort Wilkinson." This was an increase in territory in his departmental command, which he

continued to exercise until the War of 1812. During the same year, 1805, he became the senior colonel in the army, and next in command to Wilkinson; and on January 11, 1808, was appointed by President Jefferson a member of a court of inquiry to investigate Wilkinson's conduct.

Again, January 21, 1811, he was appointed by President Madison member of a board to determine whether Captain Winfield Scott, of the Light Artillery regiment, who had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to suspension from rank, command, and pay for twelve months, for withholding unlawfully the pay he had received for his company, was entitled to promotion as senior captain to the majority in his regiment, which had meanwhile fallen vacant. The decision was, according to established rule, against Scott's pretensions, and it proved fortunate for him that it was so, for his Light Artillery regiment and a considerable portion of Colonel Burbeck's regiment were on duty in Louisiana when Congress decided, on January 11, 1812, in expectation of war, to raise two additional regiments of artillery. Scott was just out of his suspension, and in Washington, where the baleful Virginia influence was all-powerful. He obtained an appointment as Lieutenant-Colonel Second Artillery, July 6, 1812, and when the First Artillery detachments and Light Artillery regiment joined the army operating on the Niagara frontier, they found Scott the senior officer of artillery on the ground.

From 1805 to 1812, Colonel Burbeck devoted himself to the improvement of the artillery service. He established the New York Arsenal at Governor's Island, and put Lieutenant Bomford of the Engineers in charge. On July 10, 1812, he was appointed a Brigadier-General by brevet in the army, and commanded a district successively at New York, Newport, New London, and Greenbush, N. Y., until army reorganization at peace. In the interim a curious state of affairs had occurred. The officers of the two new "additional" regiments of artillery which had been raised for a limited time, had sufficient political influence to get themselves consolidated by Congress, on March 30, 1814, into a corps of artillery with the old first permanent regiment, to consist of twelve battalions and no higher field officers for the corps than six lieutenant-colonels. There happened to be no colonels at the time in the Second or Third regiments of artillery, by reason of promotions to brigadier-general, and thus General Burbeck was the only officer in the whole army who was supernumerary. He was assigned to duty by his brevet of brigadier-general, and when army reduction came on June 15, 1815, as the corps of artillery had no officers of his grade, he had to be honorably discharged, after a faithful and distinguished service of nearly thirty-eight years, in which he had uniformly retained the confi-

dence and esteem of those who directed the military affairs of the nation. All he received from a grateful Republic for his services was a gratuity of three months' pay proper, which hardly equalled even a single month's ordinary allowance, as then computed, with its ration-money, forage, fuel, and quarter allowances.

He retired from the service "a poor citizen," as he himself expressed it, and went with his wife to reside in New London, Conn., his future home. On July 4, 1846, he became President of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Massachusetts.

General Burbeck died at New London, October 2, 1848, and the Cincinnati of his native State erected a handsome granite monument over his grave in the Cedar Grove Cemetery, New London, which bears on one of its faces this inscription, with which we can fitly close the record of this good man's career :

"The Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati dedicate this monument to the memory of their late honored President. He was an officer of the United States from the commencement of the Revolutionary War until near the close of his life. By a patriotic and faithful discharge of the high and responsible duties of a gallant soldier and an exemplary citizen, he became as justly and eminently distinguished as he was rightfully and universally respected."

General Burbeck's eldest son, William Henry Burbeck, succeeded him in the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati on July 4, 1850.

ASA BIRD GARDNER



THE WASHINGTON BUNKER HILL MEDAL

PARISH INSTITUTIONS OF MARYLAND

Before 1692 there had been but few Church-of-England ministers resident in Maryland, and these were supported by voluntary contributions, or by produce from whatever land they possessed. Complaints had been made to England of the low state of morality in the colony. Movements were started to correct these evils, and resulted in an Act of Establishment. Agreeably to its provisions the ten counties were divided into parishes, each having a Select Vestry, a corporate body for the holding and sale of church property, the acceptance of bequests, etc. A fine was imposed upon Sabbath-breakers, which was ordered to be given to the poor of the "Parish, City, or borough," where the offence should be committed. This Act and some later ones had the effect of bringing more clergy into the colony, and of building more churches, but there was still demand for further legislation in regard to ecclesiastical matters. Accordingly, in 1702, an Act was passed, by which the Church of England was more firmly established in Maryland. The parish system of old England was the basis, but it was modified to suit new conditions.

The Governor inducted a Minister into a parish. He usually made appointments from nominees of the Bishop of London, and the Vestries were obliged to accept whomever the Governor sent. Occasionally he consulted the wishes of the parishioners. In the record-book of Prince George's Parish is a copy of a letter from Governor Sharpe to Mr. Alex. Williamson, whom he had licensed "to act as curate" until another rector might be appointed, "which step," the letter states, "I conceive would be more agreeable to the parishioners, than if I were immediately to induct that gentleman." The people thought they ought to have the privilege of choosing their own rector, as his salary and funds for church buildings came from them. In 1768 one of the parishes refused to receive ministers presented by Lord Baltimore through his Governor, and upon appeal to English courts, a decision was given in favor of the parish. When once a minister had been accepted, it was with difficulty that he could be removed, so that dissatisfied congregations had, in their dealings with unpopular rectors, to resort to such summary acts as locking out of church, mobbing, etc.

For the support of the clergy, forty pounds of tobacco were levied each year upon all taxables, whose names the Constable of the Hundred collected

and gave to the Sheriff of the county. He, after collecting the tobacco and deducting five per cent. as a fee, paid the remainder to the incumbents of parishes in the county according to the number of their taxables. The minister kept a clerk who read responses, lined out the hymns, and sometimes attended to the "placing of greens in the churches at the proper time." In some parishes there were glebe lands, which the incumbent occupied or rented out. As an inducement to new settlers the rector would occasionally excuse certain persons from paying clergy taxes. Such a minister must have been either a man of means, or else living in a wealthy parish, for many of the clergy were poorly paid for the labor and trouble they were compelled to undergo. The parishes were large, and the minister was obliged to travel on horseback in order to discharge his duties to his congregation. The clergy, however, were not taxable, neither were they liable to serve in the militia. They received various fees from weddings, burials, etc.

An Act was passed in 1704 to secure the parishes in the possession of their libraries, which the Rev. Dr. Bray had suggested and procured; for "the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations, and to Induce such of the Clergy of this Kingdom as are Persons of Sobriety and Abilities to accept of a Mission into those Parts."¹ The parish library was the property of the incumbent, who had to pay triple for all damages. When he removed, he delivered the library to the Vestry. As the books were "for the sole Use of the Minister," they were mostly theological works, but it appears one collection, at least, provided against temporal as well as spiritual foes. In it were contained a book on "Martial Discipline," one on "Articles of War," a perspective glass, a pocket compass, a dark-lantern, "Catechetical Lectures," "The Lawfulness of Common Prayer," and "The Whole Duty of Man." Dr. Bray wrote, in 1700, that an Act had provided for the institution of free schools for the propagation of the Gospel and the education of the youth in the Province. These schools were designed "for the instruction of youth in Arithmetic, Navigation, and all other useful learning, but chiefly for the fitting such as are disposed to study divinity, to be further educated at his Majesty's College Royal in Virginia."² It is probable that, for the purpose of looking after the Church's interests, one Minister was a member of the board of seven school visitors in his county.

Removed from the restraints of ecclesiastical superiors, some of the Maryland clergy became careless in their work, and, indeed, some acquired quite a reputation for scandalous living. Even "Commissaries," who were

¹ Papers of Dr. Bray, p. 20, 1699.

² Maryland MSS. in Md. Archives, p. 32.

at intervals appointed, failed to make a permanent reform, and in the years immediately preceding the Revolution the dissatisfaction with the clergy found expression in the stringent Act of 1771, which was calculated to discourage further additions to the number of ministers in the colony.

But the greatest historical interest centres in the Vestry, of which the Minister was "Principal." In every parish six Select Vestry-men were chosen by the freeholders. Every new Vestry-man subscribed the test, took the special oath of his office, and the general oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and association, administered at the first election by a Justice of the Peace, afterward by the "Principal." Elections were held on Easter Monday, when the two Vestry-men who had served longest were dismissed, and others appointed in their places. No Vestry-man could be re-elected for three years.¹ The only qualifications were that he should be "sober and discreet," and not a member of the Roman Church. In one parish, however, a certain John Dayson was exempt from serving as Vestry-man, because he kept "a publick house." Frequently Vestry-men were not professors of religion. They were generally men well known and of good report, and some held offices under the Government. These were not chosen with a view of connecting their civil functions with those of Vestry-men, but because it was believed they would not abuse the confidence reposed in them. Two Church Wardens were elected annually in the same manner as the Vestry-men, but were always re-eligible. They had the care of the church-linen, "pewter or plate," and provided bread and wine for communion. The Vestry of S. James' Parish ordered, in 1765, that "persons intruding into other persons' pews should be taken out by force and put in the stocks."² The Church Wardens probably executed such orders, for they, like the New England Tithingmen and Constables, had to preserve "order in and around the church." They reported the state of their parishes to the "Commissary" at his visitation. Vestry-men or Wardens refusing to serve, without good excuse, were fined.

The "Principal" summoned the Vestry-meeting; but that "nothing might be done unawares," the first Tuesday in each month was Vestry-day. At "11 of the clock forenoon" the Vestry was wont to assemble, and three was a quorum. In some large parishes, for convenience, it was the custom to meet after service on Sundays. Absent members could be fined. After a

¹ This provision was sometimes misconstrued, as is seen from the following extract from the record-book of S. John's Parish, Baltimore County: "Mr. Thomas Gittings is by the majority of ye parishioners here present chosen As a vestryman to Serve in said office three years from this date According to Act of Assembly."

² A Historical Sketch of Anne Arundel County. By Rev. Theo. C. Gambrell, 1876.

long ride through the wilderness to attend meeting, the Vestry-men did full justice, no doubt, to the provisions for their refreshment. In one parish "a quart of rum and sugar equivalent," and "as much diet as would give the Vestry a dinner," was prepared by the sexton, at the expense of the parish. As this caused, after a time, "great scandal," each Vestryman had to furnish his own dinner. The proceedings of the Vestry were recorded in a book by the clerk or register, chosen and paid from parish funds. The register kept also an account of all births, marriages, and funerals in the parish. Vestry-men were the guardians of parish property and the censors of parish morals. If church buildings needed repairs, the Vestry contracted for improvements. If it had not sufficient means to pay parish charges, it petitioned the County Court for a levy, which, per annum, could not exceed ten pounds of tobacco per poll. If the parish church was not convenient to all parishioners, the Vestry summoned them to decide whether a chapel of ease should be built, and if so, where. If a chapel was desired a petition was sent to the Assembly for an Act authorizing the parish to erect one. Voluntary contributions and taxes imposed by the County Court furnished the means. Churches and chapels were built, when practicable, near springs or wells, in order to save the trouble of fetching water. The land was usually given outright, often by some parishioner, and title to it was confirmed by Act of Assembly. When there was doubt as to the amount given, two acres were surveyed for the purpose. In the laying out of Maryland towns, places were left for a "church, chapel, market-house, or other public buildings." Churches were usually built of wood, but some were of brick or stone. The church at Annapolis, as early as 1704, had a belfry and a bell; but most churches were plain structures, without any such luxuries. The interior was equally free from adornment. The pulpit was at one side, and the chancel at one end. There was a reading-desk and "a place for the *clerk* to sit in." Pews were high-backed, with seats around three sides. As the congregation grew, galleries were erected, and in them bench-pews were placed. By an Act allowing a new church to be built in S. Anne's Parish, it was ordered that there should be accommodations for officers of the Government, the incumbent, strangers, Vestry-men, and Wardens. Galleries were to be built, one for parishioners in general, one for servants, and one for slaves. Those who subscribed most toward the building fund were to have the preference in the choice of pews, and no one subscribing less than twenty pounds sterling was entitled to a pew. Churches and churchyards were under the care of the sexton.

In every parish church the Vestry was obliged to set up a table of un-

lawful marriages. Where there was no rector the Vestry chose a reader, and paid him from the proceeds of the clergy tax. A committee, consisting of the "principal Vestry-man [here the oldest] and four of his brethren of longest standing," had to render to the Governor an account of all expenditures of the poll-tax during a vacancy in their parish.

In 1729 was passed an Act for improving the staple of tobacco. Although it was disallowed, its provisions were carried out for three years. Each Vestry having divided its parish into "precincts," appointed for each counters, or tellers of tobacco plants. The names of appointees who would not serve were presented by the register to the County Court. Before 1729 the Vestry had been connected in another capacity with the tobacco interest, for Vestry-men and Wardens could arrest persons attempting to "run" tobacco from the Province. Some years later Vestries nominated "able and sufficient planters, well skilled in tobacco," to serve as inspectors of the staple. From these nominees the Governor made his appointments.

In the young colony, inhabited by all kinds of characters, it is not surprising that immorality prevailed to a large extent. But means were at hand, as in the old English parishes, to check this evil. Persons who, after repeated warnings, continued to live an immoral life, were presented by the Vestry to the County Court, where the fact that admonition had already been given by the Vestry was sufficient evidence to convict offenders. Adulterers, fornicators, and such like, were fined, or in default of fine, whipped till the blood came. After 1749 corporeal punishment for such offences was abolished. Persons who swore profanely in the presence of a Minister, Vestry-man, or Warden were fined, and any one of these officers could commit to the stocks for one hour an offender who did not pay his mulct, or could appoint, in the absence of a Constable, a deputy Constable to whip the aforesaid, the lashes not to exceed thirty-nine at one whipping. Every minister had to read to his congregation four times a year the penal laws of the colony.

After Braddock's defeat, in order to pay for an increase in the militia, taxes were laid upon some additional items, among them "*bachelors*." Every year the Vestry prepared a list of such *delinquents* in the parish who were over twenty-five years old. This list was then fastened upon the church door (which was a favorite place for advertising parish business), and, when revised, was sent to the Sheriff of the county. Among the "taxed bachelors" in 1760 it is curious to note Governor Sharpe, Messrs. Husband and Love, and the Rev. Mr. MacPherson, rector of S. Anne's, Annapolis, although he was not legally taxable. This imposition upon poor, lone bachelors ceased after eight years. It was perhaps because "misery loves

company," or possibly from the belief that "in union is strength," that this persecuted class sought refuge at church in "bachelors' pews."

Colonial laws and local records afford comparatively little information regarding parish poor. Legacies were occasionally left for the benefit of the poor, by whom were no doubt meant needy ones connected immediately with the parish church. Scholars were sent to charity schools by the parish, and collections were made in the churches for special objects, such as to aid the sufferers by the great Boston fire in 1760.

From the beginning there was great ill-feeling toward the Established Church in Maryland. Romanists and Dissenters thought themselves wronged in having to contribute toward the support of an alien ecclesiastical system whose evils, but not whose blessings, they shared. The underlying cause of this discontent was the strong sentiment of the people that the existing parish system was an infringement of freemen's rights, and this feeling, without doubt, helped to strengthen that opposition to the mother country which resulted in the American Revolution. During that struggle the Church in Maryland, for various reasons, lost considerable ground. Many of the clergy adhered to the royal cause and tried to lead their congregations the same way. Great numbers, consequently, left the Church and attached themselves to Methodism, which was just beginning to thrive in America. In the "Declaration of Rights" adopted in the Maryland Convention of 1776, the tax for the maintenance of the clergy was removed, so that ministers who remained had to make great shifts to find support. The property of the Church remained to her, but those who stood by her were too much occupied with the momentous questions of the time to give heed to parish matters, and so church buildings were rapidly falling into decay. A new Vestry Act was therefore passed. Under it the legal voters of a parish chose seven Vestry-men "for the preservation of the church, care of the glebe, and for the happiness and welfare of the State." Their civil duties were taken away, although Wardens still kept peace in the churches. Ministers were paid by subscription and controlled the glebe during incumbency. When any improvements were made parishioners contributed material and sometimes services. In 1798 another Act became the law, upon which is based the present Vestry system of Maryland. Although the law is easy of access, it may be well to mention its most important features. Eight Vestry-men were elected, the former Vestry-men being the judges of election. All Vestry-men and Wardens took the oath of fidelity to the Government, professed faith in the Christian religion, and subscribed the oath of office. The first Monday in February, May, August, and November was legal Vestry-day. Four members constituted a quorum. The Minister,

who was "called" by the Vestry, was chairman. He collected the votes, and, if there was a tie, had the deciding voice, unless he happened to be personally interested in the result. The Vestry chose Church Wardens. Although a corporate body, the Vestry could dispose of no Church property without the consent of both of the Wardens.

At present Vestries in Maryland are governed by the provisions of their charters, which conform generally to the Constitution and Canons of the Diocesan Convention. Parishes still exist as geographical divisions, but within them are "separate congregations." There are eight Vestry-men elected each Easter Monday in congregational meeting. Frequently the meeting of the congregation consists of the Vestry-men alone, who solemnly and regularly re-elect themselves. It is on record that at one such meeting in Baltimore the only persons present were the two Wardens, who elected themselves chairman and secretary respectively, and elected a Vestry. The Wardens, if they are not also Vestry-men, can take part in discussions, but cannot vote in Vestry-meeting. Although the powers of officers of the peace were taken from the Wardens in 1802, nevertheless, as representatives of the Vestry they still have the old right to keep order in the church, and are, like the ancient Tithingmen and "Sabbath Wardens" of New England, objects of terror to small boys, or other disturbers of public service.

The parish of Maryland, which was originated for religious purposes, but which, as an institution of English people, naturally partook of the political features of the old English parish, gradually lost its connection with civil matters, until to-day it exists for ecclesiastical objects alone.

EDWARD INGLE

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

NAIRN'S MAP OF SOUTH CAROLINA—Mr. Nairn's Map of Carolina is a very defective one; and indeed the whole of that Gentleman's Map (tho' a Commissioner for the Indian Trade) is full of Errors: The Coast is wrong laid down, the Rivers drawn at random, and particularly the Watteree River is there made to run into the Sea, whereas it runs into the Santee River above 100 Miles up the Country; in short, there is not any one Map, or any one Account that has been hitherto published of that Country, that can be depended upon, the Descriptions being taken by Hear-say, or by very ignorant Persons, who have hitherto made Journals of that Country.

Near the Santee River, the General Atlas makes Soto, in the year 1540, travel over the Mountains as high as the Appalachian Mountains, whereas at that particular Spot of Ground, it is Pine Flat Land, the lowest in the Province.—*Daily Journal*, London, October 14, 1730.

W. K.



Dans la Nouvelle

Monsieur

Monsieur

Vostre humble &
très dévoué serviteur
Joliet

Mer Vermelle
ou est La
Californie par
ou on peut aller
au Perou au Japon
et ala chine

La Nouvelle Grenade

Le Mexique

[illegible]

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DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT—PART II

SECONDARY AUTHORITIES

Charlevoix's "*Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France*," Paris, 1744, is the first historical work of value to treat of the early explorations. Charlevoix was familiar with the country traversed by Marquette and La Salle, having, in 1721, followed the latter's route to the Mississippi. Shea published at New York, in 1866-67, an English translation of this work, and in the notes which he added, embodied the results of his extensive studies upon the early history of America, showing the latest knowledge possessed of the first travellers.

In 1844 Sparks issued his "*Life of La Salle*," for the materials of which he depended upon the printed narratives of Hennepin, Joutel, Tonty, and the recitals in Le Clercq's "*Premier Établissement*," etc., being unable to obtain any of the MSS. which are now accessible. Sparks' "*Life of Marquette*" appeared in 1845, and soon after Falconer's work "*On the Discovery of the Mississippi*," which contained translations of important MSS., was published at London.

In 1853, Shea's valuable "*Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*" was brought out at New York. The contents of this work have been perhaps sufficiently indicated in the notices of contemporary journals, which are reproduced in it. In 1860 Thomassy published "*Géologie pratique de la Louisiane*," in which he presented some important inedited documents. This writer contemplated writing a history of La Salle's exploits from the MSS. in the French archives, and, as a preliminary, issued in separate form the documents which he had collected, under the title, "*De La Salle et ses relations inédites*," Paris, 1860. In 1869 Parkman published the first edition of his "*Discovery of the Great West*," forming the third volume of the series of historical narratives upon "*France and England in North America*." In the latest edition, published in 1879, the title was changed to "*La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*." In the writing of the later edition the author had the use of additional documentary material, since printed by Margry, which caused a revision of some portion of the work. Gravier's "*Découvertes [etc.] de La Salle*," Paris, 1870, and the supplementary monograph published by him in 1871, add little that is not in Parkman's work. The later publication corrects some errors and deficiencies in the first. Dr. Shea's contributions to the history of the first explorations of the West, beside his "*Discovery of the Mississippi*," New York, 1853, consist mainly of notes to the many important original narratives which he has edited, notably those of Hennepin, Le Clercq, and Charlevoix.

The following works contain among the first travellers, accounts of the country traversed by Marquette, Hennepin, and La Salle :

La Hontan, who travelled in 1689 and subsequent years, wrote "*Nouveaux Voyages*," Paris, 1703. This work passed through several editions. Although adventures related by La Hontan are in many cases imaginary, yet, says Parkman, he "had seen much, and portions of his story have a substantial value." J. Gravier, in 1700, went from the Illinois country to D'Iberville's colony in Louisiana. See "*Relation de Voyage en 1700 depuis le Illinois jusqu'à l'embouchure du Mississipi*," New York, 1859 (*Shea's Cramoisy Press*). The "*Relation de la Mississipi en 1700, par MM. de Montigny, De St. Cosme et Thaumur de la Source*," New York, 1861, (*Shea's Cramoisy Press*), narrates the experiences of a party of the missionaries under the guidance of Tonty. An extract from Gravier is given in French's Historical Collections, second series, pp. 79-93. St. Cosme's and Gravier's narratives are also included in Shea's collection of "Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi," Albany, 1861, where also may be found Le Seuer's journal of a voyage from Louisiana to the Sioux country in 1699-1700. An extract from Le Seuer is given in La Harpe's "*Journal Historique*," Paris, 1831, and in French's Historical Collections, pt. 3. A journal by Pénicaut, who accompanied Le Seuer, is included in his "*Annals of Louisiana, from 1698 to 1722*," in French's Historical Collections, new series, pp. 33-162, New York, 1869. The memoirs of D'Iberville's expedition to the Mississippi, in 1699-1700, contain descriptions of the lower Mississippi and throw light upon La Salle's movements in that region. The principal documents concerning D'Iberville's enterprises are printed in the fourth volume of Margry. A brief report by D'Iberville of his voyage on the Mississippi in 1699, is printed in French's Historical Collection, second series, pp. 19-31. An anonymous narrative entitled, "*Historical Journal; or, Narrative of the Expedition under D'Iberville, to explore the Colbert (Mississippi) River, 1698-99*," is published in French's Historical Collection, second series, pp. 29-119. Both of these papers are included in Margry's collection, volume iv. Sauvole was a member of D'Iberville's company; see his "*Journal Historique*" in French's Historical Collections, pt. 3, pp. 223-240.

Father Marest's letter on his mission at the Illinois, dated 1712, published in the "*Lettres édifiantes*," vol. ii., and reprinted in Kip's "*Early Jesuit Missions*," pp. 191-227, New York, 1846, describes the scenes of his labors.

In 1721, Charlevoix, the historian, made a journey from Canada across the lakes to the Illinois, and thence down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. He was requested by the King of France, to write an account of his travels. The descriptions of the country published in vol. iii. of his "*Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France*," Paris, 1744, afford perhaps the best views of the primitive West which we have.

The English editions of his travels are entitled "*Journal of a Voyage to North America*," London, 1761, and "*Letters to the Duchess of Lesdiguières*,"

London, 1763. See also French's Historical Collection, pt. 3, pp. 119-196, where his journal is reprinted from the English editions.

On reaching the subject of *Maps*, we find that Harris's Notes sur la Nouvelle France contains a section upon the "Cartographie de la Nouvelle France, depuis la découverte jusqu'en 1700," which affords an extensive list of published and inedited maps.

Parkman gives a descriptive account of "Early unpublished maps of the Mississippi and the great lakes," in the appendix to his "Discovery of the Great West." Thomassy's Géol. pr. de la Louisiane, has an appendix upon the "Cartographie de la ancienne Louisiane, 1544-1858." Baldwin's "Early maps of Ohio and the West," Cleveland, 1875, and Peet's article, "The discovery of the Ohio, Early maps," in Amer. Antiquarian, vol. i., pp. 21-35, Cleveland, 1878, are useful studies of some early maps in the possession of Western historical societies. Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," Chicago, 1881, contains a chapter upon the first maps representing that place.

The following printed works contain some of the more important edited maps, bearing date in the original previous to 1700: Champlain's "Voyages," Paris, 1632, is accompanied by a map upon which Lake Superior is shown, and a "grande rivière qui vient du midy" is represented as flowing into the lake from the south. This map, which is reproduced in the later editions of Champlain, is of little value in a geographical sense for the western country. A map of "Nouvelle France," showing the great lakes, is in Sanson d'Abbeville's "L'Amérique en plusieurs cartes," Paris, 1656. Du Creux's "Historia Canadensis," Parisii, 1664, contains a map dated 1660, which shows the outlines of the great lakes. Bressani's "Relation abrégée de quelques missions dans la Nouvelle France," Montreal, 1852, contains a reproduction. Dollier and Galinée's map of 1670, showing their course in travelling to Ste Marie, is reproduced in Faillon's Histoire de la col. fr., vol. iii., p. 305 (see Parkman's La Salle, p. 449, for description); Claude Dablon's "Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1670-1671," Paris, 1672, contains a map made about 1670 (see Parkman, p. 450); a reproduction is published in Foster and Whitney's "Report on the Geology of Lake Superior," Washington, 1850; Marquette's map of 1674 accompanies the various editions of his narrative. The map in Thevenot's "Recueil" is by Liebaux, and not by Marquette. Gravier's "Étude sur une carte inconnue" contains a *fac-simile* of a map by Joliet, probably in 1674. A *fac-simile* of the map, printed for THE MAGAZINE at Rouen, under the superintendence of M. Gravier, will be found in the present (April) number. This map is the first published map showing the great lakes in connection with the Mississippi.

Shea's edition of Dablon's "Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1673 à 1679," New York, 1860, has a reproduction of a map made by the Jesuits in 1673, showing the missions upon Lake Michigan. Hennepin's "Description de la Louisiane," Paris, 1683, contains a map made upon data by Hennepin. The later editions of this work are also accompanied by a map. Parkman gives a reproduction of the

portion of Franquin's famous map, which shows La Salle's colony on the Illinois, and that portion showing the lower part of the Mississippi is reproduced in Thomassy's "Géologie de la Louisiane." A map made by Minet, the engineer of La Salle's last expedition, which gives two separate views of the mouth of the Mississippi, is given in a reduced size in Gravier's "La Salle," and in Thomassy's "Géologie de la Louisiane." Le Clercq's "Premier établissement de la foy," Paris, 1691; Hennepin's "Nouvelle découverte," and "Nouveau Voyage;" La Hontan's "Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique," La Haye, 1703; Coxe's "Description of Carolana," London, 1742, and Charlevoix's "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1744, are accompanied by maps made nearly contemporaneously with the publication of the works in question. A *fac-simile* De Lisle's map of 1700, which indicates the course of the early explorers, is in Gravier's "La Salle" and in French's Collections, pt. 2. A map by Joutel, dated 1713, accompanies the printed editions of his journal (see MAGAZINE, VIII. 184). Margry's "Découvertes et établissements des Français," when completed, will include a volume devoted to maps now inedited. The third volume of this collection contains an outline sketch, representing La Salle's discoveries. A modern map, representing countries traversed by Marquette, Hennepin, and La Salle, is given in Parkman's "La Salle."

We next give a list of publications which treat of the explorations of the Mississippi valley, arranged in chronological order. Works which have been cited under different headings of this article are, in most cases, not included in this enumeration.

La Hontan, "Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale," Paris, 1703. This work passed through several editions. Bacqueville de la Potherie, "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale," Paris, 1722. Editions were also published in 1723 and 1753. Has some account of La Salle's travels in 1682. Barcia, "Ensayo cronologico para la Historia General de Florida," Madrid, 1723. The author relied upon the memoirs of Marquette, Joutel, and Tonty for the portion of his work relating to the French explorations. Lafitau, "Mœurs des Sauvages Américains," Paris, 1724. Coxe, "Description of the English province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida; by the French, La Louisiane," London, 1742. The author disparages the French discoveries, and urges the English right to the country. Dumont, "Mémoire sur la Louisiane, contenant ce qui y est arrivé de plus remarquable depuis 1687 jusqu'à présent," Paris, 1753, 2 vols. Bellin, "Remarques sur la carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale, comprise entre le 28^e et le 72^e degré de latitude," Paris, 1755, gives some account of La Salle's establishments. Le Page du Pratz, "Histoire de la Louisiane," Paris, 1758, 3 vols.; English translations were published in 1763 and 1774. Gayarré, "Essai historique sur la Louisiane," Nouvelle Orléans, 1830, 2 vols.; La Harpe, "Journal historique de l'établissement des Français à la Louisiane," Paris, 1831. This work is reproduced in French's Historical Collections, vol. iii. Conover, "Oration on the History of the First Discovery and Settlement of the New World, with especial reference to the Mississippi Valley," Cincinnati, 1835. Perkins, "Early French Travellers in the West," in *North American Review*,

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APPLETON P. C. GRIFFIN

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

NOTE

THE JOLIET MAP—The Joliet map of 1674, which accompanies the article by Mr. Griffin, is of special value, as he has indicated, for the reason that it is the earliest map representing the Mississippi in connection with the great lakes. It is not, however, the first to distinguish Lake Michigan as a separate body of water, as the Sanson, Du Creux, as well as the Jesuit map of 1672, shows this fact. Du Creux's map shows better the relative position of the great lakes; Galinée's map gives the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Ontario with greater exactitude, and the Jesuit map of 1672 excels as regards accurate representation of the geography of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior. This latter map is, perhaps, unsurpassed as far as concerns those places by any published map before 1700. Franquelin's map of 1684, which is unedited, shows the course of the Mississippi with some degree of accuracy.

On the Joliet map the Mississippi is called the Buada (see *THE MAGAZINE*, VIII. 156, 226). This map does not show the Mississippi valley water system so well as the map found in Magin's "Histoire Universelle," 1611. Joutel's map (VIII., 185) fails essentially, while the map of 1611 shows the Alabama in its relation to the Mississippi in a way that proves the hydrography of the region to have been known. It resembles that of the last Government survey. The Joliet map does not show the course of the Ohio, but only a portion near its mouth, indicating that Joliet did not believe that La

Salle descended the Ohio. This view is supported by a map which we have recently inspected in the collection of Mr. S. L. M. Barlow. This *appears* to be the original Joliet map. It is a large map, twenty-seven by forty inches, and has the rivers tinted blue. The mouth of the Ohio is indicated by a blue opening, and the river itself is drawn with a pen by an unskilful hand, extending it across a colored scale of miles into what represents the present region of western New York. Dr. John Gilmary Shea and General John S. Clark, of Auburn, inform us that they hold this to be the original Joliet map, and, further, that it disposes of the notion based upon *copies* of the map, used to demonstrate that La Salle descended the Ohio. One of these copies is in the possession of Mr. Barlow, but it does not show the Ohio properly as an *addition* by a later hand, but makes the river appear, falsely, like a part of Joliet's original sketch. The map which we lay before the reader is very valuable, and supports the view based upon Mr. Barlow's map, which, like all his material, he is ever ready, most courteously, to place at the use of scholars. Mr. Barlow has another large and beautiful map of about the same date, which shows, by putting the Bay of the Holy Spirit at the mouth of the "Bu-ada," that the French recognized the Spanish River of the Holy Spirit as the Mississippi.

THE EDITOR

MILITARY BUTTONS

In the military services of Great Britain and of the United States, as well as in those of other powers, the respective army regulations prescribing a "uniform" have generally included, as part of the uniform, a distinctive button for each particular regiment, corps, or arm of service. During the War of American Independence the regular continental regiments of the American army were generally uniformed as well as circumstances would permit, while the militia and levies came into the field in the clothes worn by them at home. When the Massachusetts infantry regiments



of the continental line were reorganized in February, 1777, "for the war, the Eighth Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry was formed in Boston from the remains of Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's regiment, which had done such good service under General Washington at the siege of Boston and in the campaign of 1776. Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Jackson, of that regiment, who had been severely wounded in an attack on Montrossor's

Island, N. Y., September 23, 1776, was promoted to be colonel of the Eighth on January 1, 1777. Major John Brooks, of the Nineteenth Continental Foot (Colonel Charles Webb), was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth, also to date January 1, 1777, and Captain William Hull, of the late Nineteenth Continental Foot, was promoted on the same day to be its major. The Eighth Massachusetts, therefore, had for its field officers three who had already greatly distinguished themselves, and it soon acquired by its services the sobriquet in the army of the "Bloody Eighth."

Colonel Jackson's wound prevented any operations in the open field, but he was a thorough disciplinarian during the war, and received from General Washington many expressions of esteem. Lieutenant-Colonel John Brooks afterward became Governor of Massachusetts, and held other positions of trust, both civil and military. Major William Hull, after an honorable military career of many years, finally as Governor of Michigan Territory, and Brigadier-General U.S.A., was constrained to surrender Detroit under circumstances which would appear to have been excusable, if it had not been necessary to sacrifice him to the political requirements of the inefficient Administration then in office.

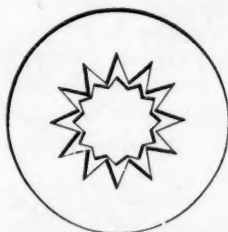
The Eighth Massachusetts marched in April, 1777, to Ticonderoga, to join Major-General St. Clair. After the evacuation of that post it was sent under Major-General Benedict Arnold to the relief of Fort Stanwix, then besieged by St. Leger. It returned in time to participate in the two battles of Stillwater and Saratoga, which preceded Burgoyne's surrender. It was in the latter of these contests that the regiment acquired its great reputation. On September 19, 1777, at "Stillwater," or "Freeman's Farm," it was but slightly engaged. The pewter button here delineated was picked up on that battlefield. At "Saratoga," on October 7, 1777, the regiment was particularly conspicuous, and, with fixed bayonets, stormed the redoubt defended by the Germans under Colonel Breyman, who was killed there. It afterward joined the main Continental Army under General Washington in Pennsylvania, and in December, 1777, went into winter-quarters at Valley Forge. It served in the battle of Monmouth and campaigns of 1778 and 1779, and a detachment was under Brigadier-General Anthony Wayne at the storming of Stony Point. It participated in the campaign in New Jersey in 1780, and in the operations before New York in 1781.

Thenceforward it remained on duty in the Highlands of the Hudson until June 12, 1783, when all the men enlisted "for the war" were furloughed, a proportionate number of officers placed on "waiting orders," and the remainder transferred to the Third Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry, and its military history was complete.

This button is of the size and description of coat buttons prescribed for all general officers and aides-de-camp commissioned as such during the Revolutionary War, and was either of yellow metal or gilt. As late as the war of 1812 it continued to be the style in use.



The three buttons here represented were found respectively at Fort Clinton, on the Hudson, White Plains, and Saratoga, and appear to have been gilt. They un-



doubtedly came from the coats of patriotic farmers who had left their homes for short service in the militia at the call of their country, either in 1776 or 1777.

The larger of these series of pewter buttons shows the size of the uniform coat button as worn by the infantry of the continental service. It was found, as well as

the next one to it (which is a sleeve-button), on the battlefield of Saratoga, and belonged to one of the continental regiments there engaged, either to the First New Hampshire (Colonel Jos. Cilley), Second New Hampshire (Colonel Nathan Hale), Third New Hampshire (Colonel Alexr. Scammell), or to the Second New York (Colonel Philip Cortlandt), or Fourth New York (Colonel H. B. Livingston). The Massachusetts Continental regiments all had numbers on their buttons to designate the particular regiment. The monogram seems to have been a favorite mode of indicating the letters U. S. A. The third of this series, a sleeve-button,



was found in the revolutionary works at Constitution Island, opposite West Point, and it is believed that most of the infantry regiments other than of Massachusetts wore buttons of this design.

After the War of the Revolution the infantry of the army of the United States used a smaller coat button of brass, with the device here indicated, until the year 1800, when regiments were required to have their special number expressed on the face of the button. This one was found at West Point.



From the year 1775 until the close of the second war with Great Britain, the uniform button for the artillery arm of the service represented an unlimbered field-piece, raised upon brass or gilt metal, with a small guidon flag fastened by its staff to the right side of the trail of a De Gribeauval gun-carriage, about where the wheel guard-plate is fixed on the modern trail. The rim of the button was slightly ornamented, and of the size noted. One of the kind here described was found at Constitution Island, which was long garrisoned from the Continental Corps of Artillery.



From 1815 to 1821 the uniform coat buttons of the Artillery Corps of the United States Army were of brass or gilt metal, and of about the dimensions and design here indicated. The word "Artillery" over the eagle has, however, in this representation been accidentally omitted by the engraver. This button was found at West Point.



The Light Artillery Regiment United States Army, organized in 1808, had a brass or gilt button of the size and design herein indicated. In 1821 the regiment was consolidated with the

artillery corps, and lost its distinctive button. The one from which this design was taken was found at Fort Preble, Portland Harbor, Me.

The accompanying design represents the breastplate to a shoulder-belt of the Seventeenth Regiment Light Dragoons, British Army, which was found at Fort Washington. The regiment was raised in Hertfordshire, in 1759, and in 1775 its uniform was as follows: Scarlet coats with half lappels, lined with white; white collar and cuffs; white metal buttons, and the buttonholes ornamented with white braid. Waistcoats and breeches white; helmets ornamented with white metal and a scarlet horsehair crest. Boots reaching to the knee. Cloaks scarlet, with white capes. Officers wore silver lace or embroidery, silver epaulettes, and crimson silk sashes round their waists.

The Seventeenth Light Dragoons came to Boston from Ireland on May 24, 1775, under Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Birch. It served at the siege of Boston, and a detachment volunteered for duty in the assault of Bunker Hill. When Boston was evacuated it went to Halifax, but returned to the United States with Sir William Howe, and was in the battles of Long Island and White Plains and capture of Fort Washington. From December 8, 1776, one troop served in Rhode Island for a year. The remainder was quartered in New York City. It participated in Major-General William Tryon's plundering expedition to Danbury, Conn., of April 26, 1777, and was in the affair of

"Compo Hill." One troop subsequently participated, dismounted, in the capture of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, on the Hudson River, opposite Anthony's Nose. The regiment then proceeded by sea to Philadelphia.

It was in the affair at "Crooked Billet," Penn., in May, 1778, and at "Barren Hill Church," where Lafayette extricated the American detachment in a manner so creditable to himself. Afterward the Seventeenth was in the battle of Monmouth.

A detachment of the regiment embarked and went south in December, 1779, attached to Colonel Banastre Tarleton's Legion, served at the siege of Charleston, and at the surrender of Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, May 12, 1780, and in the previous cavalry affairs at Monk's Corner and Lenew's Ferry. Forty of the Seventeenth were in the command of Colonel Tarleton, which obtained such an unenviable notoriety by its brutal conduct at the Waxhaws, May 29, 1780, in the massacre



of Colonel Buford's Virginia Continentals after all resistance had ceased. The expression "Tarleton's quarters" was subsequently used with great effect by the Americans in subsequent contests in the South when making an attack.

The regimental detachment of the Seventeenth in the battle of Camden, August 16, 1780, under Earl Cornwallis, and on January 6, 1781, received reinforcements from New York. At the battle of the Cowpens, on January 17, 1781, in which Tarleton was totally defeated by Brigadier-General Daniel Morgan, the Seventeenth escaped capture after the action only by the rapidity of its retreat. When Earl Cornwallis advanced into Virginia he ordered it to join Lord Rawdon in South Carolina. On June 11, 1781, Sir Henry Clinton, from headquarters, New York, directed the immediate return of the regiment to that station, where it served until the evacuation on November 25, 1783, and was the last of the British cavalry regiments to serve within the United States.

This design represents a pewter button of the Fifty-seventh Regiment of British Foot, which has recently dug up in the garden at the main Lighthouse, Sandy Hook, New York Harbor. The limits of this sketch will not, however, permit a history of the regiment's services in America.

ASA BIRD GARDNER



WASHINGTON BUTTONS

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

TREATY AT FORT HARMAR, 1788-9, ETC.—Solomon Drowne, M.D., of Providence, R. I., a surgeon of the Revolution, and later a Professor of Botany and Materia Medica in Brown University kept a brief journal of events while at Marietta, Ohio, where he arrived November 19, 1788, and remained until June 16, 1789. He was present at the treaty with the Indian Nations at Fort Harmar, December 19, 1788, and, fortunately, his MS. sketch of the Cornplanter and other chiefs' speeches has been preserved with several of his letters. Also, with the chiefs and proprietors, he participated in an elegant entertainment, January 12, 1789, on the occasion of the peaceful and advantageous issue of the treaty.

Dr. Drowne attended his long-time friend, General James M. Varnum, the first Judge of the North West Territory, who died in Marietta, January 10, 1789, and, on the 13th of that month, pronounced his funeral eulogy in the N. W. Block House. By invitation of General Rufus Putnam *et al*s, Committee, April 7, 1789, he delivered there the first Anniversary Address of the Settlement of Marietta.

The Indian name of "The Cornplanter," a Seneca chief, as recorded by the late Samuel G. Drake, of Boston, Mass, in his "Book of the Indians," is *Gyantwaia*, and, as written by the late James Ross Snowden, of Philadelphia, Pa., *Gy-ant-wa-chia*, in his "Memorial of the Cornplanter."

The latter spelling is more Indian-like and probably the most accurate, as Col. Snowden evidently gave it close attention.

H. T. DROWNE

WYANDOTS, SHAWANESE, (SENECAS, MOHAWKS, ONEIDAS, CAYUGAS, ONONDAGAS, TUSKARORAS—SIX NATIONS), DELAWARES, MUNSEES, O'CHIPPEWAS, OTTAWAS, POTTOWATTOMIES, AND SAUKS—December 19th, 1788. Crossed the Muskingum with Gen^l Tupper, &c. to attend the Treaty held between y^e above Nations and Gov^r S^t Clair (with Gen^l Butler). A very cold day, preventing a comfort to be taken in y^e Markee and Council Bower of y^e assembled Chiefs;—y^e council fires notwithstanding. First arose an old sachem of y^e Senecas, and delivered a conciliatory address, recommending harmony, and that good dry wood might be put on y^e council fire to make it burn clear—and earnestly desiring that a deep hole might be dug, in which any harsh and angry expressions that had dropped from some of them the day before, might be entirely buried. A white string [of beads was presented] to y^e Governor.

Several Strings of beads (some white, some black and white, &c.) and a Belt of Wampum being arranged on y^e Table, the noble *Obeel*, commonly called the *Cornplanter*, arose, and began his speech, by recriminating his younger brothers, the Wyandots,¹ and y^e Shawanese (who it seems, had been severe upon y^e six Nations, the day before) blaming them for not coming to his council fire;—for their adherence to Brant; and for their tardiness in attending the present Treaty. He reminded them of his having been to the great Council of the *Thirteen Fires*, where he saw y^e Treaty between y^e Eng-

¹ The Wyandots not pleased with being called younger Brothers, and, with others, at the Epithet of Father, to y^e Representative of U. S.—Mr. Williams.

lish and Americans, signed by y^e King's own hand, and sealed with y^e great seal; —a Copy of this, he said, he had shown them; so that they could not be ignorant of it, nor of the boundary of the United States running thro' y^e lakes to the Mississippi. He called them foolish in not listening to him, and charged the Shawanese with having their Tomahawks found bloody in their hands, notwithstanding this information, &c. declining peace. He said he should put *Brant* in his chair, or shut him up in his house, that he might not go about doing mischief, etc.¹

After addressing the Nations and presenting several strings, he turned to y^e Governor—the representative of y^e *thirteen fires*. He styled him "Father," and said "I call you father because we all came out of your belly."² He observed "that when the Americans first dropped upon this Island, they found the Six Nations very powerful, and willing to assist them, taking them by y^e hand," etc. mentioning y^e *Treaties of Schenectady* and *Fort Stanwix*. "Since that time," he said, "the Great Spirit has favoured you, and you are become a powerful people." He expressed his earnest wishes "that a lasting peace might be concluded between y^e Nations present and y^e *thirteen fires*,—that it might be strong and continue as long as the Heavens endure." To this end he requested the Governor to point

out to his Brothers (who were uneasy) the line between them and y^e United States that they might make it known to y^e Nations towards y^e sunsetting, that their minds may be easy. He requested y^e United States to consider them, to pity them, [allow them hunting ground, I believe, etc.] He hinted, that as y^e Americans present were well clothed this cold season, he hoped they would consider his Brothers who needed clothes. Taking up y^e Great Belt, he offered one end to y^e Governor and said he and his Brothers of all y^e Nations held y^e other, (this contained y^e *Treaties of Schenectady*, etc.) then delivered it up. Before this a white string [was used as heretofore].¹

The Governor then made a speech, mentioning he was not prepared to answer to some part of the above. Spoke of exchanging Prisoners; told the Wyandots, &c. he was ready to release them the prisoners in his possession, on their giving Hostages for the delivery of theirs. Said a stop must be put to y^e practice, of taking prisoners and selling them from one nation to another; without which there could be no lasting peace, etc. etc.

A Chief of y^e Wyandots spoke and said, as there was another nation concerned in y^e prisoners they would consult together, and make known their determination with respect to Hostages, at y^e next Council meeting.

Letter from Solomon Drowne, M.D., to Mrs. Elizabeth (Russell) Drowne.

Marietta, Dec. 9th, 1788.

My Dear Wife.

You see I am still detained upon the banks of Muskingum; tho' at present

¹ N. B. Cornplanter's speech was interpreted by a Pottowattomie chief to his people.

¹ N. B. The Nations by this time pretty generally joined in blaming Brant, who, they say had deceived them, having concealed letters, from y^e Governor which [ought] to be communicated.

² This expression excited laughter among y^e Chiefs, a smile in y^e Governor and in *Obeel* himself.

for want of a good opportunity to go further down the Ohio, rather than on account of lameness or cold weather. . . I have also another piece of pleasing information to communicate to you and my friends, viz., That the Indians are coming into the Treaty, which I expect will begin this week. This sudden determination in their Council (which was held about fifty miles up the Muskingum) is said to be owing to a speech of *Cornplanter*, Chief of the Senecas, who lately went from this quarter. He is a noted chieftain, sensible, humane, and of unimpeachable morals. *Brant*, Chief of the Mohawks, a Colonel in the British service, and undoubtedly under the influence and instructions of a party of that nation, has been exerting his policy to put off or prevent the Treaty. But after the speech of Cornplanter, the Council broke up, and the Indians are said to have set out upon the run for this place.

Whilst I am writing the wind breezes more fresh, and it becomes colder. The lateness of the season, and some other circumstances, make it uncertain whether I shall go down to Kentucky, therefore, when you or my friends write, it will be best to inclose the letters in a coarse cover, and address to me in Marietta, to be left at Major *Goodale's*. . . Genl. Varnum continues very ill, and seems in a more critical situation than when I wrote before.

Wishing you all health and true happiness, I am most affectionately yours,

SOLOMON DROWNE.

To Mrs. Drowne, Providence, R. I.

Letter from Solomon Drowne, M.D., to Mrs. Elizabeth (Russell) Drowne.

Marietta, at the confluence of Ohio and Muskingum,

December 31st 1788.

My Dear and amiable *Consort*,

I need not mention how painful to me is this separation from you, and our dear children; and make no doubt you are also often filled with regret at my long absence from you. . . . May we yet see many happy years. . . .

The 19th Inst. I went over the Muskingum, to the Council Bower, where the great *Treaty* is held between Governor St. Clair (who is Commissioner from Congress) and the Chiefs of a number of Indian Nations. I was much pleased with Cornplanter, and have since written what I could recollect of his speech, but cannot now transcribe it. It afforded me great satisfaction to see their manner of doing business,—at the end of a speech presenting a String of Beads, or Belt of Wampum. I think there was more decorum observed than in the British Parliament, when I was there.

Last Thursday, the 25th Inst. was observed here as a day of public Thanksgiving, agreeably to a Proclamation, issued by the Governor. It being Christmas, public worship was introduced by reading the Collect, &c. in the Church Prayer Book. Genl. Parsons read a sermon adapted to the occasion, from Psalms 103, 1 & 2 verses. Good singing.

I dined at Major Goodale's (who came from Brookfield) and as this is such a new Country, perhaps you will like to know our bill of fare.—A boiled dish, Turkey, Beef and Bacon, Cabbage, Turnips and Potatoes, Butter, &c.—A roast

Turkey, 17lbs.—A Turkey Pie.—Custards.—Wheat Bread, &c.

1789, January 2^d. New Year's day was celebrated by much firing, which commenced at about midnight on the Virginia side, and occasioned an alarm in the stockade, terrifying some of the women, very much. A number of Indians, cordially joined, with their Rifles, bringing an American Flag; and were allowed to excel our people in the regularity of their firing. Three discharges of Cannon at Fort Harmar *Garrison* and Stockade. [By order of Capt. John Pratt.]

There is a great profit to be made by trading with the Indians in skins, &c. I think I have heard Thomas Russell¹ say he had half a share here; if so, you may give him a hint that I think he can trade to better advantage here than in Newport. . . . The business of the Treaty has been suspended by the cold weather, and partly by the Governor's want of health; the Bower, wherein they meet being very open and airy. They met however lately, and there is reason to expect a favourable issue, as they are peaceably disposed.

I have a view from the Chamber where I write of the beautiful Muskingum gliding gently by, with a good deal of rotten ice floating on its surface; also of a lofty hill on its opposite bank containing a quarry of excellent stone, easily cut into any shape and hardening in the air (a kind of free stone), and more than sufficient to build the whole City of Marietta.

I have had some few patients; but in general the inhabitants have been very healthy, except colds lately.

¹ [The father of the venerable Charles H. Russell, of Newport and New York.]

Sincerely wishing you all a happy New Year, I am, yours, most affectionately,
SOLOMON DROWNE.

To Mrs. Drowne, Providence, R. I.

THE TREATY

A Letter of Franklin to Laurens, from original in Collection of Col. T. Bailey Myers.

Passy April 17th 1784.

Dear Sir

I have received your Favours of March 28th and April 7th. I am glad that M^r. Hartley being luckily at Bath saved you the Fatigue of a Journey to London. His letter to you of which you sent us a Copy was very satisfactory. By one that he has written to us of the 9th Instant we find that he expects to be here in a few days. I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing M^r. Bourdieu and apprehend he is either gone back to London or has taken some other Route, as I find on the back of your last "Forwarded from Dover 10th of April by J. B." Loudsley [?] went well from here the Day after his arrival here.

I thank you very much for your Remarks on the *Considerations* &c. They appear to me very judicious and just, and show so extensive a knowledge of the Subject that I regret exceedingly your purpose of leaving Europe before the Commercial Treaty is settled, and if the Commission for that Treaty arrives soon, as I expect it will in the Washington, I hope you will conclude to stay and see that important business finished.

The Congress although they have given you leave to return, appear by all their Letters to consider you still in their Service and M^r Grand holds himself ready to pay the continuance of your salary as you shall demand it. We are none of us otherwise paid at present for they have

omitted sending us any bills since June last. You have not mentioned to me the name of the Author of the Considerations. Is it a Secret?

I sympathize with you in the loss of your Papers in America. I too having lost a great part of mine there. But I cannot with the same Justice as you do blame the Enemy. It was my own Imprudence in entrusting them to the Care of a pretended Convert to our Cause, who after my Departure for France went over to the Enemy. M^r Jay is preparing for his Departure and M^r Adams is still in Holland and likely to continue there some time, being engaged in framing the plan of a Treaty with another Power.

My Grandson joins in best wishes for you and the young Lady's Health and Happiness, with

Dear Sir, Your Most Obedient
& most humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

His Exc^y

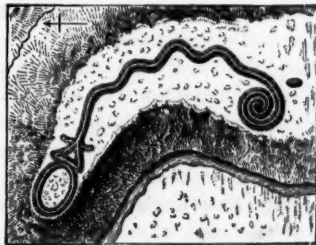
Henry Laurens Esqr.

NOTES

THE COLUMBUS PORTRAITS—Judge Daly has secured for the American Geographical Society a copy of a portrait of Columbus, the authenticity of which he favors; and the Wisconsin Historical Society has another, also recently copied in Spain. The latter has the advantage of bearing a certain resemblance to the photograph of the present representative of the Columbus family, Senor Christoval Colon, Duke of Varagua, who kindly sent us the picture, with an autograph letter. Since the resemblance, which we think discoverable, is hardly the result of accident, we incline to accept the photo-

graph as favoring the correctness of the Wisconsin picture; the connection between the photographer and the painter reminding one of what was said of a certain naturalist and the bees, to the effect that the bees had told him things, or he had told the bees.

THE SERPENT MOUND—This remarkable earthwork is situated in Adams County, Ohio, and is described as representing an immense serpent, one thousand feet long, holding in its mouth an egg-shaped mound, one hundred and sixty feet in length, having its tail coiled in a triple coil. The existence of this mound was questioned at one of the sessions of an American Association for the Advancement of Science, but Mr. Phœne, who gave a lecture on the mounds some time ago before the New York Academy of Sciences, stated that he had explored the regions in question, and found the serpent mound, of which we give an engraving below. He also argued that the mounds



of America bore a distinct relation to many mounds in the old world.

SIR CHRISTOPHER GARDINER—It is refreshing to find in one of the popular magazines a writer doing something besides tooling over the old hackneyed material, adding, instead of discovering,

blunders. Such a writer is Mr. Charles Francis Adams, who not only discusses his themes with the ability that marks the works of his predecessors in the family line, but invariably turns up something fresh. This is the case with respect to his article in *Harper* for March, where he gives such an admirable picture of that strange and much abused character, Sir Christopher Gardiner, described by Longfellow as wearing a "Prince Rupert hat" in 1630. Referring to Palfrey's remark concerning Sir Christopher—"the master of the *Lion* could not be persuaded to take charge of him, and it was some months longer before he could be gotten rid of"—Mr. Adams says, "Here are four errors in less than three lines," continuing, "the case of Gardiner is confounded with that of Morton, and the master of the *Gift* with the master of the *Lion*; the *Lion* was five weeks on her voyage before Sir Christopher was brought back to Boston, and we have Winthrop's authority for saying that he was never 'gotten rid of' at all, but went away of 'his own free will.'" Now, if Palfrey, described as a "careful and conscientious writer," makes worse work of the subject than Longfellow, who wrote with "a glorious indifference to dates," what must have been the liabilities of those early New England worthies who wrote of Thomas Morton and Sir Christopher Gardiner without winning any alliterative "careful and conscientious," and who, in the case of Morton, put under the wrong hat the wrong brains, giving the Lord of Merry Mount the cerebral development, not of "Prince Rupert," but of Prince Hal, and the idiosyncrasies of Falstaff, his chum?

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PTOLEMIES—Mr. Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard College, has given the beginning of a "Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography," in the *Bulletin* for January, 1883, starting with the so-called edition of "1462" and continuing down to 1511, covering twelve editions, and including within a brief space a great deal of valuable information. A copy of this earliest edition is in the library of the late H. C. Murphy, and should, very likely, be assigned to the year 1472. The edition of 1475 is the first undisputed edition. In connection with the edition of 1478 there will be found some matter relating to the Bianco Map and the Behaim Globe. The latter is pictured in Barnes' "Popular History," while we can hardly call Dopplemayer's representation, 1730, a *fac-simile*, though Mr. Stevens speaks of it as such. In discussing the edition of 1482, which gives the earliest published map of Greenland, Mr. Winsor quotes Santarem, who says that there is a map in the Pitti Palace at Florence, showing Greenland, with the date of 1417. This is an error. The map is in the *Biblioteca Nazionale*, at the Uffizi Palace, where we examined it some years since, and copied a portion, the date being plainly 1447, not 1417. It is mounted on a triptych, and is being badly used. The Ptolemy of 1482 states that Greenland is so well known that it is not necessary to describe it.

Harvard College Library does not appear to possess any of the editions of the work comprised within the years 1462-1508. The Murphy library contains the editions of "1462," 1475, 1482, 1486, 1490, 1507, 1508. Mr. Winsor would

lated quite literally and herewith enclose. The Japanese think the reference is to their country, and one of the names which have been given to it is *Fu-soo-koku*. There is a Japanese work I have seen, which speaks of the Fu-soo (Chinese, Fu-sang) tree in the island of Ki-Shu, which was 9,700 feet in length, and dark, petrified wood is said to be now dug up where the tree is supposed to have stood.

"The subject has, I see by the Shanghai papers, been brought before the North China Branch of the Asiatic Society, and Dr. Macgowan promised to read a paper at the autumn meeting, proving that the Chinese did not go to America.

"Yours very truly,

"C. M. WILLIAMS.

"Vol. 4. 'To the south the water goes 500 li (three Chinese li make a mile), the flowing sand 300 li (when you) reach the Wu-ko mountain. To the south (you) see the *Tu* Sea. To the east (you) see the Fu tree—also Fu-Sang. No trees or grass (but) great wind (on) this mountain.

"Vol. 9.—'North of this¹ is Heh Chi Kwok (Black Teeth Country). The people of Heh Chi Kwok are black, eat rice, use snakes, color of which is red. Below there is a hot-water valley. Above the hot-water valley is the Fu-sang (tree). The place where the ten suns bathe is to the north of the Heh Chi Kwok. (They) dwell in the water. Nine suns dwell in the lower branches. One sun dwells in the upper branches.

"Vol. 14.—'Within the great uncultivated waste is a mountain called Nie Tao Kiun li. On it is the Fu tree. Its height is 300 li. The leaves are like mustard. There is a valley called Warm Spring

¹ A place which cannot be identified.

Valley. Above this hot-water valley is the Fu-tree. Just as one sun reaches (or arrives) another sun comes forth. All bear (lit., cause to ride) a crow."

"P. S.—Since writing the above I have looked at Klaproth's introduction to 'Nippon dai islai rau,' and find that he has translated a little freely, one of the passages from the 'Shan Hai King.' The longer account of Fu-Sang which he gives in a note, is translated from another Chinese work called 'Nan Szu' ('Histoire du Midi').

QUERIES

A REVOLUTIONARY OATH OF SECRECY—

The original document, of which the following oath of secrecy is a copy, is in my possession. It was found about forty years ago among the papers left by Matthew Vischer (Fisher), who was the Secretary of the Albany County Committee of Safety in the revolutionary war. Among the thirty signers of this paper are to be found interesting and prominent characters, many of whom greatly distinguished themselves in our subsequent State history. Can any one now explain the occasion which gave rise to this interesting document?

"We the subscribers do swear, that we will keep a profound secret the contents of the affidavit of Michael Ryan, and the resolves which this sub-committee have or may enter into in consequence thereof; excepting that we may severally have liberty to disclose the same to any of the members of the city and county of Albany in general or sub-committee convened, when such members have taken such

oath; and also excepting that we may severally have liberty to disclose the same to such officers or other persons whom the General or Sub-Committee may judge necessary to employ to carry into execution any Resolves of the said General or Sub-Committee in consequence of the information given by the said affidavit. And that we shall severally remain under the said injunction until we severally have permission from the Chairman of the said Committee for the time being, or a majority of the Subscribers, to make the same public. Albany Committee Chamber, April 24th, 1776.

Henry Bleecker
Ab^m Cuyler
Isaac Van Aernam
Goosie Van Sch...ck
Jac^o bleecker Jun^r
John Ten Broock
Benjⁿ Hicks
Ph. P. Schuyler
Philip Bronck
Harmen Vosburgh
John H. Ten Eyck
Ab^m Yates Jun^r. Chair.
Jer. V. Rensselaer
Gerrit Lansing Ju^r
Robert Yates

Jo. Young
Mat. Vischer
Henry I. Bogert
Leonard Gansevoort
Jacob C. Ten Eyck
John Tay Beeckman
Har^s Wendell
Gisbert Marselis
John Barclay
Jacob Cuyler
John Bay
Sam^l Stringer
Robert McClellen
Basteen T. Vischer
Michael Ryan

H. C. V. S.

UNDESCRIBED BUTTONS—Besides those buttons given in the article by Major Asa Bird Gardner, we give the following. Perhaps some reader may be able to describe them.



3



4



5



6



7



8

REPLIES

EARTHQUAKES IN CANADA—On this point [II. 755] to which I have seen no reply, allow me to refer the readers of THE MAGAZINE to the account given in Richaudeau's "Vie de la Reverende Mère Marie de L'Incarnation," the founder of the Ursulines at Quebec. On page 354-5 of this biography, printed at Paris, in 1873, we find an account of what happened in 1661, the earthquakes, if we may trust the narrative, having been foretold by one or more of the Religious of Quebec. The noise created by the movements of the earth are described as similiar to the sound of many carriages driving rapidly

over pavements. Terrible noises were heard in the air. Doors opened of themselves, bells rang, walls and floors cracked, and the people fled from their houses, fearing that they would fall, while the cattle were equally terrified. Some were in complete dismay, and thought that the last Judgment had come. The first shock continued half an hour, and in the evening there was another that threw the Ursulines, who were in the choir, upon the floor. During the night more than thirty oscillations of the earth were felt. The shocks affected many portions of Canada, and lasted from February 5th to September. Entire hills disappeared, ravines were formed, and the St. Lawrence River was of the color of sulphur for eight days.

MORTON

OCEAN STEAM NAVIGATION [VIII. 783, IX. 73]—The first steam vessel to brave the ocean on the American side of the Atlantic was the Savannah, Capt. Rogers. She steamed out of Savannah, for Liverpool, making the voyage in twenty-two days, eighteen of which, I understand, she was propelled by steam power.

SHAWMUT

CAPITOL [IX. 70, 216]—As the State House in Virginia had been burned, and as Jamestown was situated in an unhealthy place, it was determined in 1699 to change the seat of government. The Assembly passed "*An act directing the building the Capitoll and the City of Williamsburgh*" ("Henning's Statutes," Vol. 3, p. 197). This Act was repealed in 1705, in "*An Act Continuing the Act directing the building the Capitol and the*

city of Williamsburgh; with additions" ("Henning's Statutes," Vol. 3, p. 419). After providing for a site for the building where the General Assembly and Courts could hold meetings, it was ordained "that the said building shall forever hereafter be called and known by the name of the *Capitol*, of this his Majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia."

EDWARD INGLE

LOTTERY TICKETS [IX. 217]—Faneuil-Hall Lottery, No. Five, "granted by an Act of the General Court of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, for Rebuilding Faneuil-Hall, etc. Boston, June, 1765, B. John Hancock."

Faneuil-Hall Lottery, Letter A, as above. John Ruddock, E.

U. S. Class 3d, Philadelphia, November 18, 1776, G. Campbell.

Charlestown Lottery, June 23, 1779, Class 21st, T. Harris.

Pitcataque Bridge Lottery, Class 2d, J. N. West, No. 75 Cornhill, Boston.

Harvard College Lottery, Class First, J. N. West, No. 75 Cornhill, Boston.

Harvard College Lottery, Second Class, 14th March, 1806, John Williams.

South-Hadley Canal Lottery, Class Fifth, Feb. 25, 1802, Justin Ely.

Pavement Lottery, Fourth Class [Newport, R. I.], S. Fowler. J. C—N

ARMS OF OFFICERS [IX. 215]—In corroboration of "Half Pike," I would call attention to the fact that not only in St. Leger's case, but in the engraving of General Sullivan, the latter is also represented holding an esponsion in his hand.

CEPHAS

INGRAM [IX. 172]—In the last line of the note, Hortop should read Ingram, as called for by the text.

THE MATHERS [IX. 167]—There was a Moses Mather, a descendant of Richard, who was born in Lyme, Conn., and became a clergyman and was settled in Darien, same State; and I presume that it is the homestead of this Mather that is referred to.

G.

SOCIETIES

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—The Society met in its rooms March 7th, President Wilder in the chair. The Rev. Charles C. Beaman, of Boston, read a paper on "Windsor, Vt.," in which he claimed that at the time of the first knowledge of it by English colonists the territory was called Vermont, probably by the French, who had settled in Canada. It is now agreed that no permanent Indian settlement had been made, but Indian names still lingered around mountain, river, and plain—local Indian names—Iroquois and Huron tribes each claimed its occupancy, but had no desire to live there; also that the first civilized settlement within the borders of the present State of Vermont was commenced February 3, 1724, by Massachusetts. Colonel Josiah Willard was sent with four carpenters and twelve soldiers, with axes and two teams, to construct a fort, which he accomplished without opposition. The fort was situated on the west bank of Connecticut River, in the southeast corner of the present town of Brattleboro.

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—On Tuesday evening, March 6th, the President, Augustus Schell, in the Chair, a valuable paper was read by the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, on the "Huguenot Church" of New York, in which the writer showed: 1. That the Huguenot immigration before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was much more considerable than is generally supposed. 2. That in 1670, for example, fifteen years before the Recall, the French formed one-fourth of the population of this city. 3. That French services, begun in 1628, were more or less regularly continued until the organization of an independent French church. 4. That a regularly organized French congregation existed here as early as 1672, probably under the care of the Rev. Ezechiel Carri. 5. That the real founder of the church in Marketfield Street was the Rev. Pierre Peiret, who came here November 10, 1687. 6. That in consequence of the surrender of the church in the fort to the English, the French congregation which the Rev. Pierre Daille had reorganized in 1683, left the fort in 1692, and united with the church in Marketfield Street. 7. That the main cause of the difficulties which broke out from time to time in the French church, was the favorable disposition of its ministers and of a large part of its membership to the Church of England.

Dr. Gallaudet, as one of the descendants of the Huguenots, moved a vote of thanks, and Dr. B. F. DeCosta followed him, cordially attesting the value of the paper as one showing original research, and giving fresh and important information, admitting that while the Dutch were on the ground in 1596, the first regular

settlers represented the French element, to which, heretofore, justice has not been done. He also spoke of the devotion of the French and the sacrifices which they made to maintain their conscientious convictions, of which, however, they made no parade. Mr. Wittmeyer, who is the Rector of the French church *Saint Esprit*, is engaged in a general study of the French in America.

In reply to a letter signed by the President and others, inviting him to deliver the annual address before the Society, November 27, 1883, and suggesting as an appropriate subject the history of the treaty by which Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States, the Hon. John Jay wrote accepting the invitation, saying, among other things:

"The generous confidence with which you ask me to present before our honored and venerable society 'the fair record' of that negotiation, which, as regards the sufficiency of the grounds on which the American commissioners, under the lead of Jay, violated the instructions of Congress, to undertake nothing in the negotiations without the concurrence of the minister of the King of France, and ultimately to govern themselves by their advice and opinion, has been for a century a subject of controversy.

"Had no new light been thrown upon the subject I might well have hesitated, even at your request, weighted alike with persuasion and authority, to undertake a task so delicate; but, as you are aware, important historical material bearing directly upon the question, and which has not yet been collected, has been recently furnished, partly by our historical collections and in part by the governmental

archives of England and the Continent. Among them is the report in the Thomson papers, in your collections for 1878, of the secret proceedings in the Continental Congress in July and August, 1782, on a motion to revoke the instructions to the Commissioners of Peace, which, it was admitted, had been a sacrifice of the national dignity to national policy.

"Then there is the interesting sketch of the peace negotiation from an English point of view, given by Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice in the life of his grandfather, Lord Shelburne, with a note of the effort by M. de Rayneval in his visit to that minister, to defeat the American claim to the fisheries, the Mississippi, and the Ohio.

"Lastly we have the volume of inedited documents from European archives, published at Paris in 1876 by the Count Adolphe de Circourt, containing confidential correspondence on the American claims to be recognized by treaty, between the Count de Vergennes, and his diplomatic agents, the Count de Montmorin at Madrid, M. Gerard, and the Count de la Luzerne, at Philadelphia, and his secretary, M. de Rayneval, at London.

"These new disclosures, and especially the instructions of the Count de Vergennes, to the British ministers in America, are of the highest authority, for they were gathered by our associate, Mr. Bancroft, and they definitely settle the questions of fact which have been raised as to the correctness of the views officially expressed by the American Commissioners in regard to the policy of France; views that impelled them to break the instructions which would have made the French king 'master of the terms of peace.'"

LITERARY NOTICES

MEMORIAL OF HENRY WOLCOTT,
ONE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF WINSOR,
CONN., and of some Descendants. By SAM-
UEL WOLCOTT. Printed for private distribu-
tion. New York: ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH
& COMPANY. 1881. 4to, pp. xi, 436.

On taking up a work like this, the mind naturally recurs to the thought of Bacon, who says: "It is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient, noble family which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time;" for many of the old families of New England, quite as much as any titled class, may very justly entertain a respect for their history. This is especially the case when a family in the New World is a continuation of one in the old. The splendid volume forming the subject of this notice, however, is not disfigured by the exhibition of any unseemly vanity. Its projectors appear to have been moved, not by "a weak family pride, but a desire to rescue from oblivion the memories and services of godly men."

So far as respects mere age, the Wolcott family is much older than many of the so-called noble families of England. The history of this family was first studied systematically, with reference to publication by that well-known antiquary, now deceased, Mr. H. G. Somerby, who, in 1849, reported that he found the family established in Tolland in 1525. During the summer of 1849, Mr. Somerby visited Tolland and collected all the information he could gather. In the neighboring parish of Lediard he found it recorded that "Henry y^r sonne of John Wolcott was baptised the VI. of December 1578," while in the parish churchyard at Tolland he found two ancient family monuments. Next, Mr. Somerby extended his search among the wills, finding that of "John Woolcott," dated February 9, 1571. Full particulars are wanting in regard to the Wolcotts of Tolland, but it would appear that they held good social positions and were freeholders, in times of war supporting the government with man and horse, armed and equipped. Their circumstances were at least easy, and the deed of Galdon Manor, the principal mansion in Tolland, refers to the "meadows, pastures, mills, tenements, and hereditaments thereunto belonging." This estate came into the possession of Henry Wolcott, of Winsor, and son of John of Tolland, after his removal to America, from his brother Christopher.

Henry Wolcott in New England was always regarded as an English gentleman of ability, intelligence, and virtue. About the year 1606 he married Elizabeth Saunders, and, when more than fifty years of age, being dissatisfied with his

position in England, he emigrated with three sons to New England, arriving at Boston in the famous Mary and John, May 30, 1630. That conscientious scruples led him to seek a home in the New World we may readily conceive, and also that he was a "stout-hearted and God-fearing man;" but that he was an advocate of civil and religious liberty, except for himself and those of his way of thinking, there is no proof. October 19, 1630, he was made a freeman at Boston, but in 1635 he went to Connecticut. In 1637 he was made a member of the first Connecticut General Assembly. In 1640 his name stands first on the list of the inhabitants of Winsor. In 1640 he visited England. He was a resident of Winsor at the time of his death, which occurred May 30, 1655, the thirty-fifth anniversary of his landing at Boston.

The volume gives an account of eight generations of the Wolcott family in America, where it has occupied an honorable and distinguished position, the various branches exhibiting the virtue and ability that distinguished Henry Wolcott of Winsor, proving that "children's children are the crown of old men," and that "the glory of children are their fathers."

The mechanical execution of the volume marks it as the finest volume of the kind ever turned out by the American press. The illustrations are singularly valuable, and reveal the greatest excellence, combining steel and wood engravings, and *fac-simile* reproductions by the phototype process. The frontispiece gives a view of Tolland church and churchyard, with the Wolcott monuments, being followed by the Wolcott arms, beautifully engraved. Next are full-page *fac-similes* of the Great Seal of England, which was attached to the License of Alienation of Galdon Manor, under the Chancellorship of Lord Bacon. The deed conveying the manor, and accurate engravings of the Wolcott monument, are given, with other interesting illustrations, after which comes the Wolcott homestead at South Winsor, exquisitely engraved, and, like the rest of the wood engravings, printed upon India paper and mounted after the style of steel cuts; two silver tankards with family arms, a monument from the Wethersfield churchyard, and the splendid Wolcott elm at South Winsor. We next reach the superb steel portrait of Oliver Wolcott, the signer, and that of Marianne Wolcott, one of the most distinguished beauties of her time, engraved after a crayon likeness by Sharpless, with a *fac-simile* of Washington's letter to Oliver Wolcott. Then follow fine portraits of Laura Collins Wolcott; Oliver Wolcott, the Secretary; Oliver Wolcott, the Governor, and a portrait of Frederick Wolcott. These are accompanied by portraits of recent representatives of the family—Henry S. Wolcott, sometime United States Consul at Shanghai, who died in 1852; the Wolcott monuments and homestead at Litchfield, the

latter being a remarkably fine piece of work by Richardson; and the youthful face of Lieutenant Huntington Wolcott, who lost his life in the struggle for the Union, together with a view of his monument at Mount Auburn. The portrait of the well-known and able author of this work, the Rev. Samuel Wolcott, S.T.D. (No. 471), finds an appropriate place in connection with the eighth generation. A view of the Old Meeting-House at Litchfield, and a drawing of the deed chest of Henry Wolcott, 1630, complete the list of illustrations, which have taxed the skill of a number of our most celebrated artists, bearing no relation to the class of illustrations so often found in works on genealogy, and especially in those, like Pindar's razors, made to sell. This very costly volume cannot be purchased at any price. The edition was limited to three hundred copies, and it will long, if not always, remain unapproachable in its character, being marked in every respect by the best judgment and the most refined taste.

A work like this suggests many topics for reflection, while its story is one that the Wolcotts may cherish without being accused of vanity. Few families have occupied such distinguished positions as the Wolcotts of Connecticut, high place becoming, in the most natural way, not the birthright, but the fairly won distinction of succeeding generations.

This volume is rich in reminiscences of the past, being of peculiar and touching interest in connection with the labors of Henry Wolcott, the founder of the American branch. It contains rare letters of the period of the so-called Puritan emigration, being rich both in revolutionary matter and information respecting the formative period of our constitutional history. It combines much that is curious, quaint, and wellnigh forgotten. It contains statements and opinions that might be questioned, if that were the object of this notice, while there are documents which we should be glad to quote entire, especially the "racy" letter of Roger Wolcott (p. 357), a man not in advance of his times, "to the Rev^d Mr. Eben^r Punderson," missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, proving, ingeniously, and to the writer's satisfaction at least, that the said Ebenezer was well worthy of bonds and a residence in the jail for non-payment of his share of the stipend of the Congregational parson, whose business it was to preach the Reverend Punderson down. There are also some interesting bits in relation to witchcraft and slavery, with documents bearing on the French and Revolutionary wars, and excellent descriptions of social life, both in the early colonial and more recent periods.

The author tells us that at the present time there is not a trace of the Wolcott family to be found in its ancient seat at Old Winsor, except in the churchyard. Litchfield, like Old Winsor, is literally a *Litch* field; while in the other Winsors

scarcely a dozen living representatives remain. "The shades where our ancestors reclined and the streams by which they roamed are deserted by their descendants, and grass has grown up in the paths once trod by the masters in our Israel." Yet the family coheres, and, though scattered, is still solid for the "name of Wolcott." The ancestral acres are now farmed by strangers, but the inheritance of character is undiminished, and the heirlooms are treasured with reverential care. Among these are the silver cup and tankard bearing the Wolcott arms, and the signet ring of Henry Wolcott, preserved in its original box, after the lapse of two and a half centuries; a "connecting link, binding the eight generations together." This is very interesting indeed, and though we have no disposition to re-edit this rich volume, we may nevertheless point out a fact that may yet be utilized, and which would do duty as a connecting link quite as well as any ale mug or ring. In fact, the Wolcotts have inherited the family baptismal font. On page 419 we have the story of the "heir of all the ages," little "Oliver," whose number is 580, and who is the descendant of seven governors, beginning with Bradford, of Plymouth. As we have seen, Henry Wolcott, of Tolland was baptised in the neighboring church of Lediard, December 6, 1578. Three centuries later his descendant, the "heir of all the ages," is baptized in St. Luke's Church, near "Roseneath," on the Hudson, according to the ritual used in the old Lediard church at the baptism of Henry, upon which ritual and all its belongings Henry eventually turned his back, opposing it with a steady perseverance in the New World. These two cases, No. 1 and No. 580, show how much of unreality there was in the ancient quarrels, and remind us of the saying of Bancroft, that Laud was justified by men whom he persecuted.

A RELIGIOUS ENCYCLOPÆDIA: OR
DICTIONARY OF BIBLICAL, HISTORICAL,
DOCTRINAL, AND PRACTICAL THEOLOGY
BASED ON THE REAL ENCYCLOPÆDIE OF
HERZOG, PLITT, AND HAUCK. Edited by
PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor in
the Union Theological Seminary, New York.
Associate Editors: Rev. SAMUEL M. JACKSON,
M.A., and Rev. D. S. SCHAFF. New York:
FUNK & WAGNALLS, 10 and 12 Dey Street.
Vols. I. and II., pp. xix, 847, xvii, 844, 1714.

On taking up an encyclopædia, one has to ask, not what could the author have accomplished, if he had tried, but what did he really undertake, and does the result agree therewith. Dr. Schaff might have devised a work in twenty-two volumes, like Herzog's, upon which his plan was based, but that would have proved too extensive, and would

have furnished the English-speaking reader a vast amount of material that he would not care to read, much less to buy. Hence the plan adopted was more moderate, and in keeping with practical requirements. Approaching the subject in this direction, it must be conceded that the editor of the above volumes has achieved an admirable success, and has supplied an urgent want, furnishing what he promised. This brings us to the fact, that the sole object of criticism is not the discovery of faults and the exhibition of errors. If that were so, any publication of this kind, great or small, would afford a fertile field. No one, however, expects perfection, or at least it is never found. Therefore Dr. Schaff's work has its shortcomings. Nevertheless, hostile criticism, though ingeniously and ably applied, has revealed no more than the average number of defects, for the critic must view these subjects comparatively, and bear in mind the slaughterings that have been, and may still be, committed in connection with such works as Smith's Dictionary of the Bible; while, before indulging in any minute criticism, we ought to inquire whether a book is in its first edition, or like Mr. Bancroft's History, has been worked over during half a century.

The aim of Dr. Schaff and the associate editors was to give, in accordance with the order usually observed in such works, a summary of the most important information needed respecting the different departments of historical Christianity, together with biographical and other material of a kind adapted to the wants of all classes of intelligent persons, whether students or general readers. The work is to be restricted to three volumes, the last of which will shortly appear. The editor has summoned to his aid a strong staff of scholars, many of whom are well known both at home and abroad, and who, in the two volumes before us, have done much thorough and valuable work. In the list of writers we find such names as those of Abbot, Alexander, Baird, Cairns, Calderwood, Crooks, Dexter, Fisher, Gilman, Green, Hodge, Hall, Hitchcock, McCosh, Park, and Woolsey.

Within three volumes, even of an ample character like these, it would be impossible to compress the twenty volumes of Herzog. As a matter of course, therefore, a large number of subjects are of necessity omitted, while others are treated with brevity. Every person will have his own opinion respecting the manner in which the principle of excision has been acted upon, as every one inclines to fancy that the subject in which he is himself particularly interested should be the last set apart for sacrifice; yet, whatever may have been omitted, we should all feel glad to have everything that has been retained from Herzog, while the new topics, specially contributed by American writers, furnish material hard to find elsewhere in any proper form.

We examined the volumes, first, with reference

to the history of the various religious bodies in this country, and we are bound to say that, with a single exception, they appear to be well done. This exception is found in Mr. Sabine's account of "the sect which he professeth," in connection with which account he forgets that the principal object of an article in an encyclopædia is to give real facts, not to argue about fancied ones.

We notice, likewise, a disposition in some other articles to wander away from the merits of the question, but not to look for this would argue too much perfection in human nature.

These volumes do not bristle with the technical signs of learning, after the style of some encyclopædias, yet they abound with the fruits of real scholarship, combined with a sober and discriminating judgment. Many of the articles are handled in a way that excites deep interest, while the substance throughout will be found of a useful and enduring kind.

HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN

AMERICA from 1619 to 1880. Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens; together with a Preliminary Consideration of the Unity of the Human Family, an Historical Sketch of Africa, and Account of the Negro Governments Sierra Leone and Liberia. By GEORGE W. WILLIAMS, First Colored Member of the Ohio Legislature, and Late Judge Advocate of the Grand Army of the Republic of Ohio, etc. New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. 1883. In two vols. Volume I., 1619 to 1800. Volume II., 1800 to 1880. Pp. 488, 611.

This is perhaps the most creditable performance that has yet come from the pen of any representative of the African race in America. It is the result of long and conscientious study by a vigorous and patient mind. It shows much labored research, and if there are those who, in some respects, could have performed the task better, few could have worked more enthusiastically or produced more acceptable general results. The task undertaken was a great one, the author's scope being very broad, though the undertaking grew out of the delivery of a Fourth of July oration in 1876. It is divided into nine parts, as follows: I. Preliminary Considerations; II. Slavery in the Colonies; III. The Negro during the Revolution; IV. The Conservative Era—Negroes in the Army and Navy; V. Anti-Slavery Agitation; VI. The Period of Preparation; VII. The Negro in the War for the Union; VIII. The First Decade of Freedom; The Decline of Negro Governments. The work is of deep and absorbing interest, but the limits assigned to our notice do not allow extended remark. Attention may nevertheless be called to the fact that the author's

style is not sufficiently restrained, while neither the origin nor the abolition of American slavery is treated with the exactness that is desirable; and for the reason, no doubt, that so little is known of the beginning and so much of its end. In Volume I. Mr. Williams discusses the introduction of slaves into Virginia, but on pages 118-19 he seems to get confused, and appears to mix events that occurred in Virginia with those that transpired in Bermuda. He is sufficiently free in his criticism of others, but does not seem to settle the question of the introduction of the Virginia negroes. It would have been well, also, if the details of emancipation had been given so as to enable the critical reader to have a more exact view of the subject than we find. Yet the merits of the work are so great that we do not incline to find fault with details. The author has achieved a large degree of success, and has endeavored to tell the story of the black man in an impartial spirit, which will secure the sympathy and respect of all intelligent readers. No one who fails to become acquainted with the contents of this book can claim to have a full understanding of American history, to which it forms a large and indispensable contribution. The author deserves the most substantial support upon the part of the reading public.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By GEORGE BANCROFT. The Author's Last Revision. Volume I. New York: D. APPLETON & Co. 1883. 8vo, pp. xxii, 619.

This is the first of six volumes, into which the original twelve are to be cast. It is described as "an entirely new edition, partly rewritten and thoroughly revised." We, nevertheless, lay down the volume, after careful and extended examination, with a feeling of disappointment. That it is thoroughly revised, is not proven by the pencil marks in our copy indicating the errors. The work of recasting shows signs of haste. Omissions have been indiscriminately made, changes have been hastily effected, while it is evident that the distinguished author has failed, in more than one department, to read down carefully to the present date; nor can we tell, in some cases, where his quotations end. This is the more to be regretted, as all foot-notes are swept away, rendering this "last revision" unserviceable to those who would inquire into the history of America. We find him, for instance, making Ponce de Leon discover Florida in 1513, though Peter Martyr showed the region in his map of 1508. In 1602, Gosnold, he also tells us, with the "concurrence of Raleigh," steered "directly across the Atlantic," having conceived "the idea of a direct voyage," though as a matter of fact he was prosecuted by Raleigh for poaching upon his manor, while the voyage

actually took him by the way of the Azores. We are also informed that Gosnold went back to England, leaving "not so much as one European family between Florida and Labrador," while, in 1603, Pring went to "Martha's Vineyard;" and, in 1605, Waymouth anchored in "an excellent harbor," among the St. George's Islands, on the coast of Maine, where there is no harbor, as all but blind men visiting the coast may see. He afterward sends Waymouth to explore a splendid river in a region where there is so little water that fish can barely swim. He also tells us that it was the St. George's River that inspired Sir Ferdinando Gorges to enter upon the colonization of Maine, omitting to study the maps and relations to ascertain when the St. George's River actually became known. Mr. Bancroft is also mixed as respects the Popham Expedition of 1607, and writes that the two ships of the expedition reached Monhegan on the "afternoon of the last day of July," whereas both were not there until the morning of August 7th. It would be easy to follow Mr. Bancroft at any length in this ungracious work of criticism; but we prefer, however, in such a connection to recognize, as we do most gladly, the debt under which he has placed the country by his lifelong studies and researches, which, though not altogether exact or exhaustive, nevertheless claim our gratitude and admiration. We beg, however, to express the hope that this may *not* be considered as the "last revision."

LIFE OF LORD LAWRENCE. By R. BOWORTH SMITH, M.A., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; Assistant Master at Harrow School; author of "Carthage and the Carthaginians," "Rome and Carthage," etc., In two Volumes, Vols. I. and II. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. 1883. 8vo, pp. 484, 567.

John Lawrence was a Scotch-Irishman, born in England in the year 1811.

When a boy at College Green School, he was flogged every day except one, when he was flogged twice. At the English school he was known as "Paddy," and in the Irish at Foyle, he was called "English John." In 1827 he went to India to enter the civil service, three of his brothers, Alexander, George, and Henry having preceded him in a military capacity. He rose rapidly, and at the end of ten years, returned to England on a furlough. In 1842 he took duty in India, and performed a distinguished part in the Afghan and Sikh wars, going home again at the end of twenty years with the honors of knighthood. Afterward he received the appointment of Viceroy of India, and went out once more to that country, spending ten additional years. In 1869 he was back in England, where he died in 1879, as "Lord Law-

rence of the Punjab and Grateley." Lord Lawrence was born a soldier, but led the life of a civilian; and while his brother, who became Sir Henry Lawrence, conquered on the field, it became his part to rule as jurist and viceroy, being recognized as the "saviour of India," and rendering services that made him one of the most important and distinguished men of his time. The story of his life forms a history of India for at least half a century. His biographer develops the heroic character of his subject in connection with an oriental history abounding in those startling tragedies that upon their occurrence filled the world with horror. His career was singularly brilliant and successful, and time has justified the wisdom of his Afghan policy, the departure from which cost England too much prestige as well as blood and treasure. The work is one of deep and absorbing interest, and the author does ample justice to his theme, which is handled in an able and scholarly manner, putting the reader in entire sympathy with the simple, rugged, but gentle nature of Lord Lawrence, who won his advancement by his talents, his splendid services to England and humanity, and by his genuine worth. These two ample and appreciative volumes are worthy of the great civilian to whom they are devoted. The reader will find them invested with a peculiar charm, and realize that they contain *the* biography of the present publishing season.

THE HISTORIE OF THE BERMUDAES

OR SUMMER ISLANDS. Edited from a MS. in the Sloane Collection, British Museum, by GENERAL SIR J. HENRY LEFROY, R.A., C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., etc., formerly Governor of the Bermudas; author of "Memorials of the Discovery and Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands." London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. MDCCCLXXXII. 8vo, pp. xii, 327.

General Lefroy attributes this work to Captain John Smith. In his "Advertisements" he refers to a "History of the Sea," which he had in hand, but the above work is not confounded therewith. The editor of this work on the Bermudas thinks that at the time of writing Smith had both works in hand. A strong confirmation of Smith's authorship is found "in the minute coincidences of this work with his account of Bermuda in Book V. of his "Generall History of Virginia," first published in 1624, which are so numerous as to show beyond a doubt that it was written subsequently to that publication, and based upon the same materials, an amplification, in fact, of the same narrative, with such fuller particulars and occasional corrections as were likely to come into his hands." The editor also points out a resemblance in the orthography, upon which, however, he does not de-

pend, but finds a better argument in the tone of the Virginia and Bermuda histories, where they treat of the factions that divided the Virginia Company. The MS. comprises 363 closely written foolscap pages, without title-page, name of author, or date, though the initials W. C. are written in pencil nine times, and, possibly, may be those of Dr. William Crashaw. If Smith was the author of this work, we may well understand that his Eastern travel led him to speak of the situation of Bermuda as "being in an equal elevation with that of the Holy Land, and in particular very neere with the very city of Jerusalem." This volume shows that the twelve African slaves imported into Bermuda were taken there, not by the ship Treasurer, but by the piratical Captain Kirby.

COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. VIII.

Fifth Series. Boston: Published by the Society, MDCCCLXXXII. 8vo, pp. xviii, 596.

This volume contains Part IV. of the "Winthrop Papers," by which is generally understood papers preserved by six generations of the Winthrop Family at New London, Conn. In 1860 they came into the possession of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, the now venerable President of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The collection extends from the latter part of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. The "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," contain some of these papers, while the present volume is the fourth published by the Society whose imprint it bears. The volume before, gives letters of the sons and grandsons of Governor John Winthrop the younger. Another volume will give the letters of Fitz John and Wait Winthrop. The entire body of correspondence is of rare value, as illustrating the history of the times in which they were written, forming, also, noble memorials of the men themselves, who appear to very high advantage, being of a gentle, tolerant, and amiable spirit, and free from those severe moods which marked so many of their associates. They seem to have cared little for literature, as attested by their style of composition, and not much for politics. They were able, practical men, diligent in business, and honest and religious. These letters are printed verbatim, and a heliotype copy of a portrait of John Winthrop, Jr., now in the possession of Robert Winthrop, of this city, serves as a frontispiece. The first letter is that of John Winthrop, Jr., addressed to his father from London, England, January 14, 1626; and the last is that of John to Fitz John Winthrop, Boston, August 4, 1701, who says: "S^r, this paper kneels to kiss yo^r hon^r's hand, asking pardon for its master's boldness in presuming to prostrate such rude scrawles at yo^r hono^r' feet."

AMERICAN HERO-MYTHS. A STUDY IN THE NATIVE RELIGIONS OF THE WESTERN CONTINENT. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, M.D. Philadelphia: H. C. WATTS & CO. 1882. 8vo, pp. xvi, 243.

The object of this book is to exhibit American characters like Quetzalcoatl as unhistoric personages that came into existence in accordance with a law of evolution, being personifications of light, winds, and storms. The theory is that set forth by Schoolcraft in his ponderous and pedantic work on the red man. This theory has a foundation of the most unsatisfactory character, and yet the author tells us that hereafter "whoever uses these names [Quetzalcoatl and others] in an historical sense betrays an ignorance of the subject he handles which, were it in the better-known field of Aryan or Egyptian lore, would at once convict him of not meriting the name of scholar." Now, whoever labors in the field to which Dr. Brinton has devoted so much time, is entitled to a certain degree of consideration, and this to the author of "Hero-Myths" we freely accord. He has done, and may yet do, good service, but his labors will prove the most useful, however, in rendering accessible any facts of which he may come in possession, since he lacks the essentials of a *savant* destined to overturn the principles upon which the best thought of Europe and America is based and empty the human mind of the supernatural. The author appears to have attended more than one antiquarian feast, but his style is vague and elliptical and his mental processes are too unscientific. Upon the whole the treatment of the subject is unsatisfactory.

ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA. VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, AND THE CAROLINAS. By J. A. DOYLE, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. New York: HENRY HOLT & COMPANY. 1882. 8vo, pp. 420.

Typographically this volume is very alluring, while the literary charm is so recognizable that we should be glad to say more in its favor than we intend to, but its merits have been sufficiently proclaimed; while, upon the whole, we incline to the opinion that it belongs to a class of books that the world, if not the bookseller, might easily spare. Hence, we are not very grateful for the information that the New England colonies will be treated in the same way in a separate volume. Living within easy reach of ample, and, to a considerable extent, unused materials, the author might have written an original work of equal interest and superior value; but, as it remains, he has given the public what may be called a compilation. In several places he talks about original manuscripts, but to such sources he is really under slender obligations; while he does not hesitate to

frame entire chapters by rehashing well-known and recent writers, whose blunders he copies, notwithstanding his talk about the "collation" of authorities. The author is capable of conducting more exact and useful studies; and therefore it is a pity to find him referring the reader to Bryant and Gay's history for an account of the Zeno Brothers after the subject, so rich in its literature, has been treated by Mr. Major.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. By JAMES SCHOULER. Vol. I., 1783-1801; Vol. II., 1801-1817. Washington, D. C.: WILLIAM H. MORRISON. 1882. 12mo, pp. 523, 472.

These two volumes, which appear as the first instalment of a series which the author proposes to continue to the opening of the civil war, in 1861, cover those important years which may be called "our first national era." "My main desire," says Mr. Schouler, "is to interest and instruct my countrymen in a period of American history which exhibits the primitive Union and primitive manners;" and again, to trace "the public progress" of our republic and distinguish "the impelling influences, whether individual or collective, political, moral, or social," which have caused our remarkable advance. The author's aim is very satisfactorily accomplished, and for the general historical reader who cannot devour the numerous biographies of the leading men of that time, his work must be a welcome *vademecum*. Mr. Schouler follows the best authorities, and assures the reader that he has also consulted valuable manuscripts at Washington hitherto unpublished. Almost without exception, however, the references in the foot-notes are to works already in print. Frequent quotations from the original papers in question would have added to the interest of the volumes.

NOTES PREPARATORY TO A BIOGRAPHY OF RICHARD HAYES McDONALD, of San Francisco, Cal. Compiled and edited by his ELDEST CHILD, FRANK V. McDONALD. Vol. I. Honour thy Father and thy Mother. —Ex. xx. 12. Cambridge: University Press. 4to, pp. xix, 27-95, 119.

As a piece of book-making we must regard this volume—if it is a volume—as phenomenal, both in its pagination and illustrations. As a literary performance it is also exceptional. The appendices contain 116 pages, and steel and wood engravings of various styles, including portrait and landscape, are freely tucked in at every possible point, regardless of expense. The author has ancestral reverence enough, at least, and proposes, by and by, to write the life of his worthy and re-

spected father; for what we have is simply so much preparation for the work of telling the story of a Californian adventurer, who played the part of farmer, mechanic, druggist, and banker, accumulating a large fortune, which, instead of being put into a telescope, is devoted, in part at least, to a memorial volume. These notes, however, are simply preparatory, and we therefore await the grand *opus* without indulging in criticism.

LECTURES TO AMERICAN AUDIENCES.

By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D., HONORARY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD. I. The English People in its Three Homes. II. The Practical Bearing of General European History. Philadelphia: PORTER & COATES. 12mo, pp. 455.

These lectures were delivered during 1881-1882 at Boston, Baltimore, Ithaca, New Haven, and Philadelphia. They form, practically, two books in one. The first treats of the original home of the English on the Continent, of the English in England, their second home, and of the third in America. The author's aim is to illustrate the relationship of the scattered families, holding that all that belongs to the older and lesser England in Britain belongs no less to the younger and greater England in the New World. The second part of the volume is devoted to "Causes and their Effects," "The Democratic City," "The Aristocratic City," "The Ruling City and its Empire," "The Elder and Newer England," and "Rome Transplanted." These chapters cover the colonization of Europe, and take us more or less into the field of current politics. The author deals chiefly with general principles, and does not go much beyond the range of the average audience. His style is clear, strong, and interesting, and sometimes brilliant; while the book covers ground that merits special treatment.

A STUDY OF THE MANUSCRIPT TRO-ANO. By CYRUS THOMAS, Ph.D.; with an Introduction by D. G. BRINTON, M.D. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1882. 4to, pp. xxxvii, 237.

The Maya manuscript, called after the name of its possessor, was found at Madrid in 1866. It is written on a strip of Maguey paper about fourteen feet long and nine inches wide, folded in thirty-five folds, and presenting the appearance of an octavo volume. The text is composed of characters and figures painted in colors, of which this volume gives representations in *fac simile*. Mr. Thomas regards the work as a religious calendar for the guidance of the priests in the performance of their duties among an inland people comparatively advanced in the arts. The work is

elaborated with great care and in a very judicious spirit. It is of great value and interest, and the author has conferred a great benefit upon students of Maya antiquities. Before saying much on the subject, however, we desire to know the contents of the second part of the manuscript, said to have been found recently, and which, by all means, should find its way into the hands of Mr. Thomas.

ICE-PACK AND TUNDRA: AN ACCOUNT OF THE SEARCH FOR THE JEANNETTE. By WILLIAM H. GILDER. With maps and illustrations. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. 1883. 8vo, pp. 344.

This volume forms an improvement on Mr. Gilder's "Schwatka's Search," and is really a good book, being exceedingly well illustrated besides; and, notwithstanding the present abundance of Arctic literature, this new production will find a recognized place and a large circle of appreciative readers, who will never weary of the story of these heroic attempts to reach the pole.

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY IN 1864.

By GEORGE E. POND, Associate Editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*. New York: CHAS. SCRIBNER'S SONS. 1883. 12mo, pp. 287.

This volume forms Number XI. of the "Campaigns of the Civil War," and shows how the Valley of Virginia, drained by the Shenandoah River, formed a sort of sluiceway for the Confederate forces in their movements against the North, and the theatre of Sheridan's brilliant exploits, which are well told in this admirable volume, fully illustrated by maps.

THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN AND THE

BATTLES ABOUT CHATTANOOGA, UNDER THE COMMAND OF GENERAL U. S. GRANT, IN 1862-63; AN HISTORICAL REVIEW. By SAMUEL ROCKWELL REED. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & Co. 1882. Pp. 201.

If generals were supposed to be infallible, the author of the above work would have his case; but as he criticises Grant and his generals "after the event," his book does not call for extended notice.

THE FALLS OF NIAGARA, WITH SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS ON THE OTHER FAMOUS CATARACTS OF THE WORLD. By GEORGE W. HOLLEY. With Illustrations. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Co. 1883. 12mo, pp. 183.

The volume forms an elegant gift book, and will also serve as a thoroughly reliable handbook

of Niagara. The author tells us about every one of the subjects worth knowing, while his style is pleasant, and the illustrations very fair.

GEORGE RIPLEY. By OCTAVIUS FROTHINGHAM. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. 1882. Pp. 321.

Carlyle immortalized Ripley by describing him as a Socinian preacher who left his pulpit to reform the world by cultivating onions. The onions at Brooks Farm did not pay, and he finally made his name in literature. Mr. Frothingham has told his story well, and placed Ripley upon his well-earned pedestal.

HENRY D. THOREAU. By F. B. SANBORN. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. 1883. 12mo, pp. 324.

Mr. Emerson characterized this singular person as a man of genius who became "the engineer of a huckleberry party." Thoreau certainly did not live up to his opportunities, but he lived for a purpose, and that purpose is well set forth in this exceedingly interesting volume.

WASHINGTON IRVING. By CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. 1882. 12mo, pp. 304.

Washington Irving was a practical man, born at a fortunate time, and he improved his chance. If he had come upon the stage to-day, he would, perhaps, have had a different reception. As it was, however, he won a permanent place in literature, and will be remembered and read when Ripley and Thoreau are forgotten. As Mr. Warner wrote this book, it needs no praise, and, in fact, no more capable or sympathetic writer could have been selected for the task.

PAMPHLETS

MONTHLY MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, December 14, 1882. [Extracted from the Proceedings.]

This pamphlet contains the address of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, President, after his return from Europe, where he used his opportunities for the advancement of the objects of the Society. Mr. Winthrop gives an account of the unveiling of the Raleigh memorial, a window in St. Margaret's, London; while he thinks that the Brief among the Harriot papers, in the British Museum, may be an abstract of the speech made by

the unfortunate knight before his execution. The pamphlet also contains an interesting letter from John Winthrop to Nathaniel Riche, dated Boston, May 22, 1634.

HIAWATHA AND THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERATION. A Study in Anthropology. By HORATIO HALE. Salem, Mass. 1881. 8vo, pp. 20.

In this paper, read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the author takes the ground that Hiawatha was a historic personage.

OPIUM: ENGLAND'S COERCIVE POLICY AND ITS DISASTROUS RESULTS IN CHINA AND INDIA. THE SPREAD OF OPIUM-SMOKING IN AMERICA. By the REV. JOHN LIGGINS. New York: FUNK & WAGNALLS. 1882. 8vo, pp. 48.

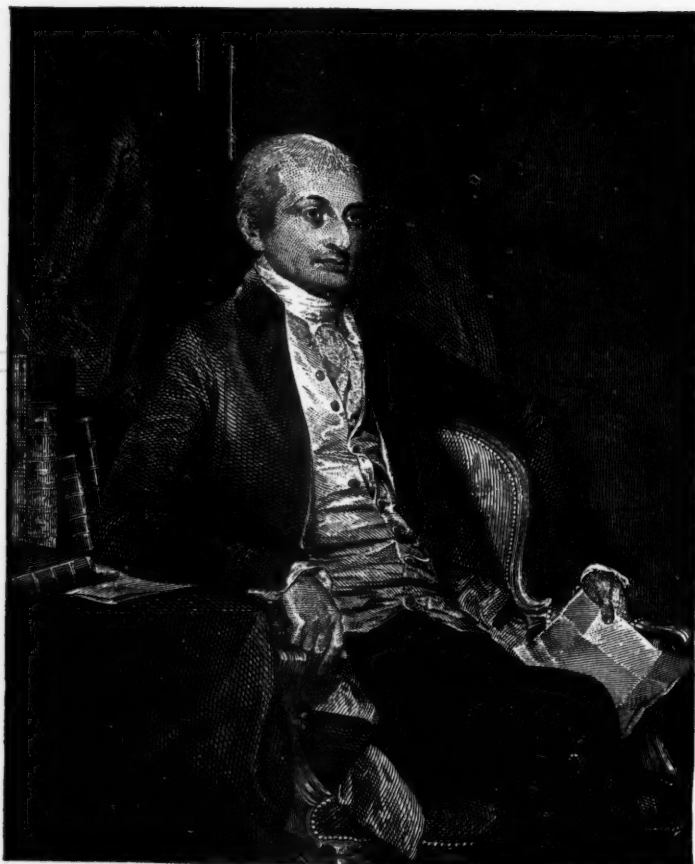
The title of this pamphlet is quite descriptive of its character, but few perhaps appreciate the extent to which the opium habit prevails in this city, or know much of its frightful results in America. The author formerly resided in China, and his brief history of the business may be relied upon as correct.

CHOICE BY THE CLERGY OF THE FIRST BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT. 8vo, pp. 8.

As the centennial of the consecration of Bishop Seabury draws nigh, all the circumstances connected with the event become of interest; and, therefore, in this brief paper Dr. Beardsley, the well-known author of the "Life of the first Bishop of Connecticut," maintains, in opposition to Bishop Perry, that Dr. Seabury was not the first choice of the people of that State, who, he maintains, previously expressed a preference for the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming. He presents a strong piece in the shape of the draft of an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, recommending Mr. Leaming for the office; but the argument is cumulative and strong, and gives a fresh view of the subject.

BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA. 1883. Catalogue of a valuable collection of Books and Pamphlets relating to America. With a descriptive list of Robert Clarke & Co's historical publications. Price, fifty cents. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & Co. 1883. 8vo, pp. 266-42.

This is a new compilation, and will be found worthy of preservation.



Engraved by Stuart & Trenchard.

Eng. by A. B. S. Trenchard.

John Jay —

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

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WALL STREET IN HISTORY.*

I

THE origin of this famous street, and its connection with the beginnings of our national life and prosperity, are scarcely less interesting to the world at large than its more recent financial mysteries, its whirlwinds of panic, and its gigantic operations. We turn backward but two and one half centuries to find its site a picturesque tangle of underbrush, wild grape-vine and tree, animated with untrained bears of a shining pitch-black color, hungry wolves, noisy wild-cats, and sly raccoons. It will be remembered that while the little settlement—the germ of the present city of New York—on the extreme southern point of Manhattan Island was yet in its helpless infancy, a bloody Indian war nearly desolated the whole surrounding country. The savages were respectfully afraid of the fort; but they prowled about in its immediate vicinity, stealing whatever they could find of use to themselves, and scalped every man, woman, or child who chanced to stray too far into the woods. As the spring of 1644 opened, the few surviving colonists were in absolute despair. They could not even turn their cows and oxen into the fields to nibble wild grass with the reasonable hope of ever seeing them alive again. Governor Kieft finally issued an order for the erection of "a good solid fence" across the island, commanding every man who wished his cattle pastured in security to appear with proper tools and assist in the work. Those who failed to give their aid were to be "excluded from the privileges of the inclosed meadow." This primitive fence was to perform the double duty of keeping the domestic animals of the settlement within proper limits, and of checking the approach of Indians and wild beasts of the forest. It was built on the line of what is now Wall Street, and was the initial paragraph, so to speak, of the curious chapter of record and story which traces the progressive steps of one of the most widely known and remarkable localities in the civilized world.

* Copyright, 1883, by Mrs. MARTHA J. LANE.